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(LORD GLENBERVIE)

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LORD GLENBERVIE

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THE DIARIES OF SYLVESTER DOUGLAS

(Lord Glenbervie)

EDITED BY
FRANCIS BICKLEY

VOL. I

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INTRODUCTION

SYLVESTER DOUGLAS, first and only Baron Glenbervie of Kincardine, in the peerage of Ireland, is already known as a diarist. In 1910 Mr. Walter Sichel published a selection from two manuscript volumes, dealing respectively with the last quarter of 1793 and the period from October, 1811, to February, 1815, which he had acquired at a sale of documents connected with the first Lord Sheffield and his more famous friend Edward Gibbon. How they came into that company is fairly easy to guess. Lady Glenbervie, a daughter of Lord North the Prime Minister, was Sheffield's sister-in-law; the two families were on the friendliest of terms; and no doubt the diarist left his books behind him after one of his frequent visits to Sheffield Place, and never recovered them. That he actually lent them to Lord Sheffield for his perusal seems unlikely, in view of his assertion, repeated more than once in the diary itself, that the only eyes but his own which he expected to see them were those of his son.¹

Mr. Sichel's volumes were obviously only part of a series, and the discovery of the rest, which have lately come into the possession of Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, shows that they were the first and tenth of thirteen, covering, though not quite continuously, a period of just over a quarter of a century. The diarist stopped his record abruptly, and without reason stated, on St. Valentine's day, 1819, when, though he was nearly seventy-five, he had still four years to live. He had not begun it until he was nearly fifty.²

It was no causeless impulse, one may suppose, which made him, so comparatively late in life, open the first of these leather-bound quartos. The year 1793 was a turning-point in Douglas's career. Hitherto, after an abortive start in medicine, which

¹ It is clear, however, that Lady Glenbervie occasionally, at any rate, was allowed a glimpse, for there are several entries in her handwriting.

² The reference books, including the usually accurate *Complete Peerage*, give the year of his birth as 1743. But Glenbervie himself, who several times refers to the event, invariably places it a year later. He was presumably right, though minute accuracy was not his strongest point.

gave Sheridan the theme for a not very amusing squib, he had been practising, with ability and industry but without particular fame, at the bar. Now, however, just as he had taken silk and become a Bencher of his Inn, his thoughts were turning from the law to politics. In 1794 he was sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. It can hardly be doubted that he saw a distinguished career ahead of him, the details of which would be worth setting down, for the edification of his son, if not of a wider posterity.

In this he was disappointed. The successive offices which he held were honourable ones : after his short Chief Secretaryship he was, successively or concurrently, a Commissioner of the Board of Control, a Lord of the Treasury, Joint-Paymaster General, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Surveyor and then First Commissioner of Woods and Forests. Three times he was offered the Governorship of the Cape, and twice he accepted it, though he never took up the appointment. But he aspired to higher things. He was spoken of for the Speakership, and would certainly have taken it had he had the chance. More than anything he wanted Cabinet rank ; or, failing that, some important diplomatic employment. He looked forward to a further step in the peerage, an English barony or an Irish earldom ; and this also was denied him. As his hopes of preferment waned, a note of bitterness crept into his references to the Ministers who turned him a deaf ear or put him off with vague promises. Pitt especially fell in his esteem, and against Grenville, who apparently took away his Surveyorship (which Portland restored to him), he nursed a special grievance.

It must be confessed that Glenbervie the place-hunter does not cut a very attractive figure, but in other ways he is likeable enough. He was vain, as he admits, and pompous, but he was both intelligent and social ; and one's suspicion that he was a bit of a bore is allayed by the undeniable fact that he was welcome in the best company of his time. He knew an enormous number of people worth knowing, both at home and abroad. From first to last his journal is a gallery of brilliant and entertaining personages, and while there is much in it of real interest to the student

of political history, it is as a contribution to the social story of a remarkable period that it will doubtless be most valued.

Glenbervie loved society, particularly the society of women, and he loved gossip. His quotations from what he called the scandalous chronicle are frequent and free, and many of his stories are to be accepted with at any rate a reservation of judgment. For his own part, he was an austere moralist, and the few lapses from virtue which he records or hints at always seem to have been followed by a becoming remorse. The sincerity of his devotion to his wife is patent, even though on one occasion he would appear to have needed her forgiveness, and his sentimental heart was never unsusceptible to feminine charms; and his daily annotations of her protracted last illness (many details of which have been excised) make pathetic reading. Her death, though it did not keep him long out of the world, was a poignant grief to the old man; as must have been that of his only son, Frederick Douglas, cut off at the beginning of what promised to be a distinguished career. This tragedy occurred, however, after the diary had been abandoned.

Politician and gad-about, Glenbervie was also a scholar. At Aberdeen University he did well both in classics and in science, and he gradually acquired a very considerable knowledge of modern languages, which towards the end of his life he was extending to their dialects. He read largely and with intelligence and spent more on books than he could afford. His literary projects were many and ambitious, though he brought hardly any of them to fruition. At one time he thought of writing the life of his father-in-law, the genial and witty Lord North, whom circumstances made one of the most reviled of English Premiers, but whom Glenbervie, who loved all the Norths (and they were a charming family), plainly considered a greater statesman than the younger Pitt. For years he played with the idea of a critical edition of the works of Bishop Gavin Douglas, the sixteenth century Scots poet and first British translator of the *Aeneid*, with whom he claimed kin. When he was over seventy he was planning an essay, which he would write both in English and in Italian, "deducing from Chaucer's time the history of the

cultivation of literature in Great Britain"; an account of the steps taken, during his administration of the Forests, to increase and improve naval timber; and a new edition of Roger North's *Life of Lord Keeper North*. All that he actually accomplished, besides some reports of law cases published in his earlier days, were an introduction to the poems of his sister's husband, Major James Mercer, and a translation of the first canto of *Ricciardetto* from the Italian of Forteguerra, which appeared in the year before his death. The world was too much with him for sustained literary effort.

While engaged on what was to prove the last volume of his diary he began an autobiographical memoir, writing it at irregular intervals, in fragments of various length, among the ordinary entries. These fragments have been placed together, in the order in which they were written, at the end of the diary. Imperfect, lacking in coherence and confused in chronology as they are, they give interesting glimpses of the boyhood and youth of the son of a small Scots laird in the eighteenth century, and, with the passages of casual reminiscence which occur throughout the journals, help one to realise the writer as something other than a middle-aged or elderly gentleman.

The present edition contains about half, or rather more than half, of the matter of the eleven volumes unknown to Mr. Sichel. It may be claimed that nothing of importance has been omitted. The diary called for compression; for Glenbervie often repeated himself, was often tedious about minor political movements which have lost all interest, given to reflections, moral or literary, which do not rise above the level of platitude, and sometimes indulged in flights of facetiousness devoid of wit. His spelling has been brought into accord with modern usage, and names which he has indicated by initials only have, where possible, been completed. His entries sometimes show the carelessness of haste, or perhaps, considering the hours at which he often wrote, the confusion of sleepiness, and when he has omitted a word or written a wrong one, it has seemed less pedantic to print his intention rather than to perpetuate his lapse, without invariably indicating the emendation.

Dec. 5, 8 p.m., Bushey Park.—Storer ¹ came here to dinner, from Mr. Scott's at Danesfield. He had left there Miss Kitty Smith, Mrs. Scott's sister; the Abbé Dillon; ² Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, a great friend of Scott's; and Mr. Hare ³ and a daughter of his by Miss Lucretia Payne, sister to Sir Ralph, a girl of about fifteen who goes by the name of Pierce, and is taken notice of by all Hare's acquaintance.

After Miss Payne had had one or more children by Hare, she used to be carried about everywhere by Lady Payne. For some years she has lived out of the world. Mrs. Hare, sister to Sir Abraham Hume, is alive, and her only child is a girl about twenty. Hare has also a son between twenty and thirty, by a person whom he debauched at Cambridge, and who, after he brought her to town, was kept, first by him, afterwards by the late Sir Francis Vincent, and afterwards by Fitzherbert, the contractor, and who went by the name of Mrs. Harris. That son is now in the army. He was educated at Eton. He was a lively boy, but does not promise now to be a man of parts like his father.

His father indeed is one of the cleverest persons I have ever known, but he has been so to little purpose. He has been, since

¹ Anthony Morris Storer played a small part in politics and diplomacy, but was more conspicuous as a man of society and a dilettante. He was a great friend of Lord North's.

² An *émigré*, member of a notable French Irish family. One of his brothers had been killed at Lyons in 1792, and another was guillotined in 1794.

³ James Hare, "the Hare of Many Friends," most notable among whom was Charles James Fox. He died in 1804, ruined by his gambling losses.

its first establishment in 1778 or 1779, a partner in what is called Charles Fox's Faro Bank at Brooks's. The original partners were Fox and Fitzpatrick.¹ They afterwards admitted successively Hare, Lord Robert Spencer, Dick Thompson, Lord Cholmondeley, and Sir W. Aston, allowing them a twelfth share, and six guineas an hour when they deal. Storer says the origin of their bank was this. About the year 1778 Fox's credit at Brooks's was very low. He applied one evening to Brooks's to let him have £300 to play at Quinze. Brooks's refused, but said if he would open a bank at Faro he would let him have the £300. George Selwyn had been for some time in the habit of holding a like bank at White's, and dealing to two or three persons. Fox did, and that evening many punters presented themselves, and he won a considerable sum. Next day he stated this as a good speculation to Mr. Fitzpatrick, and persuaded him to club some money and become partner with him. They continued to deal, with success; and after Christmas, finding the fatigue very considerable, admitted first Hare or Lord Robert and then, by degrees, the others, on the terms I have mentioned. When Fox and Fitzpatrick came into Administration in 1782, they gave up, or affected to give up, their connection with the bank. Storer believes Fox has still a share in it. Hare told me, at Paris, in October 1788, that *he* was then worth £50,000 (having I believe begun the world with nothing), but I believe he has lost considerably since. He cannot refrain from punting. Besides, two years ago, the bank lost a great deal to Lord Thanet and others.

The subject of Hare's money and children produced a conversation after dinner to-day concerning Lucretia Payne's conduct in going abroad some years ago, looking out for a husband, as a model girl, at the time that she had had more than one child by Hare, and the ladies thought that this was a very strong aggravation of her ill behaviour, and that Lady Payne

¹ Richard Fitzpatrick was a friend of Fox's from the days when they were at Westminster together. A wit, he was one of the authors of the *Rolliad*; a soldier, he fought in the American War and rose to the rank of general; a politician, he was Irish Secretary in 1782 and War Secretary in the North-Fox coalition, and again in the ministry of "All the Talents."

was extremely culpable in promoting so gross a fraud. Storer thought it was very comical, or at least very natural, and observed that, if she wished to be married, she could only succeed by concealing her history, for that nobody would have married her knowing that she was the mother of several natural children. Lady Guilford on this occasion said that she had known some examples of men who had married women in that situation, and had taken the natural children of their wives to live with them. Her own uncle, the present Mr. George Williams,¹ and often known by the name of Gillie Williams, married a Miss Dye or Diana Bertie, a natural daughter of the late Lord Coventry's wife, who was also mother to this Lord Coventry. She was the daughter of some low person, had been kept, first by a Mr. Bertie, Vice-Chamberlain to the King and a relation of the Ancaster family, by whom she had Mrs. Williams and a Mrs. Forth; then by a Mr. Pulteney, and by him had a son named Pulteney who became a clergyman in Somersetshire, and was father of a Mr. Daniel Pulteney, who sat sometime in Parliament, and has now an office in the West Indies; and lastly by Lord Coventry, by whom she had a natural son, and afterwards became Lady Coventry and mother of the present Earl. Miss Bertie, the natural daughter by Vice-Chamberlain Bertie, lived in Lord Coventry's house, and, on her mother's death, sat at the head of the table, and did the honours as if she had been his own and his *legitimate* daughter. It seems he supposed there was reason to believe that she might be his daughter.

Dec. 7, 11 a.m., Bushey Park.—Yesterday after dinner, Storer talked a great deal about George Selwyn,² who certainly was one of the celebrated characters of our time. Storer's long intimacy with Lord Carlisle had probably brought him acquaint-

¹ George James (or "Gilly") Williams was a wit of an older generation than Storer, Hare and Fitzpatrick, and formed, with George Selwyn and Dick Edgecumbe, the "out-of-town party" which used periodically to foregather with Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hall. His wife is described, in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, as Diana, daughter of William, fifth Earl of Coventry. Williams's sister married Lord North and was the mother of Lady Glenbervie.

² The wit of George Selwyn has become almost proverbial, though *mots* of his which have been preserved have somewhat lost their savour.

tance with Selwyn, for though Storer is a very good scholar, and Selwyn also was fond of literature, from my knowledge of the one, and the very little I have seen and the great deal I have heard of the other, I think they were not naturally likely to assimilate much together.

Storer says that Selwyn professed never to have had connection with a woman but seven times in the whole course of his life, and that the last time was with a maid at the Inn at Andover, when he was 29.

Yet he was a stout, healthy man, and never had any less natural taste or appetite imputed to him. But he undoubtedly had a fondness for the Duke of Queensberry (formerly Lord March) and Lord Carlisle, which had all the extravagance and blindness of passion. His attachment to them has been called a sort of sentimental sodomy.

Mlle. Fagniani, though she bears the name of her mother's husband, a Marchese Fagniani of Milan, who came with his wife into this country about the year 1769 or 1770, is known or reputed to be the natural daughter of the Duke of Queensberry. George Selwyn from love to the Duke adopted her, in a manner, from her infancy, and at an advanced period of his life undertook a journey to Milan, where he contracted with the mother and her husband to leave her a large sum of money (I believe £10,000) on condition of being permitted to carry her back to England and to educate her. She lived with him till his death, and he left her all his fortune. While she was a child, he used to act the part of a nurse to her. Mimi¹ (the name he gave her) never went out to air in the coach, never ate, or did anything, without Selwyn attending her. When she began to grow up, she used to treat him with offensive disrespect. She took the tone, which many of the young men of the time had done, of treating him, this great wit, this father of all the *bons mots* that were circulated in London, as tiresome, and what

¹ In his letters Selwyn always writes it Mie Mie. She married the third Marquess of Hertford, the remarkable nobleman who was Thackeray's model for Lord Steyne and Disraeli's for Lord Monmouth. Selwyn left her over £30,000; "Old Q.," who was almost certainly her father, between £3,000 and £4,000, and his house in Piccadilly.

is called a bore. Indeed, when his vanity was not roused, or his spirit raised by some accident, he was a very dull member of society. The first time I ever was in his company was at Lord March's in 1770, and he fell asleep during dinner and slept till the company separated. Mr. Gibbon told me that Quin in an early part of his life made a party for him to meet Selwyn at dinner. They met and Selwyn did not utter a syllable the whole time. He had also latterly, as I have heard, fallen into the error of almost all men who love wit and anecdote, when they become old, that of telling too many stories, and the same story too often. The Duke of Queensberry used to treat him always as much his inferior in understanding. However, Mlle. Fagniani's treatment of him did not in any degree diminish his sort of maternal fondness and partiality towards her. Looking at her one day, he said to Storer, "What a pleasure it is to love that girl so tenderly without having had the trouble to get her."

Selwyn, when a lad about twenty, had translated, as an exercise, Cicero's letters to Atticus, but, in making his translation, he had made great use of the Abbé Mongault's excellent version and commentary. Selwyn's translation, as it went on, was shown to Pope, who was an acquaintance of his family, to correct, and Pope commended, but advised him, as he proceeded, to look a little oftener at the original. Selwyn used to own that he had frequently translated only from the translation of Mongault, and mentioned this [as] an instance of critical sagacity in Pope.

The subject of Selwyn's want of appetite for women led us to think of other instances. Storer says he is persuaded Lord Henry Conway never was connected with a woman. He used to be often in love, but would suddenly break off when he could no longer avoid coming to the *dénouement*. It is known that he and the late Lady Holland were very much attached to one another. It has been commonly supposed that after her husband Stephen Lord Holland's death, she had given him the last proof of love, and that remorse on that account had produced or aggravated the illness of which she died.¹ She certainly did not

¹ She died of consumption, less than four years after her husband's death, when she cannot have been much above thirty.

go out for two years before her death, and showed the greatest anxiety to see Conway during that time, who never went near her. Storer says he is persuaded that her grief proceeded not from what had, but what had not happened. He lived very much in their society, and had I believe experience enough in those matters to be sufficiently sagacious. When at Eton, Eden¹ would lock Conway up for hours with Polly Jones but nothing ever happened between them. In all the familiar and libertine parties and conversations in which he used to be engaged in their younger days, living with some of the cleverest but most profligate persons of his time, Conway was never known to mention his having any connection with a woman. Storer remembers Lady Charlotte Spencer in love with Henry Conway, but says she soon discovered his unfitness for her purpose. He also remembers Mrs. Crewe very much in love with him. Storer says that all Thomas Grenville's acquaintance have the same belief concerning him.

1 *p.m.*—Lady Katherine is gone to call on Mrs. Keene and her aunt Lady Willoughby. Mrs. Keene, the sister to Lady Willoughby, who was the late Lord Guilford's sister, is no relation to Lady Katherine. She is full sister to Lord Dartmouth, whose mother, after his father's death, married Lord Guilford's father, the first Earl of Guilford, and had by him Lady Willoughby and the Bishop of Winchester.

Mr. Keene and Sir George Macartney (now Lord Macartney) were much acquainted in the former part of their lives and used to talk together about their schemes of advancement by marriage. It was a doubt between them whether it would be a better speculation to marry Lady [Jane] Stewart, daughter to Lord Bute, who was still supposed, at that time, to be the King's favourite, or Miss Legge, sister to the Earl of Dartmouth, the intimate friend and near connection of Lord North, who had lately become First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Macartney determined in favour of Lord Bute's daughter. Keene thought the other a more promising match. They accordingly made their addresses according to the opinions they formed, and each

¹ William Eden, first Lord Auckland, of whom more later.

succeeded with the lady he proposed to. Lady Katherine heard this from Mrs. Keene, to whom Keene had told it. Mrs. Keene's fortune was £10,000 and Keene settled £20,000 of his own. It was supposed he had more but reserved a sum to carry on his speculations in the funds, in which he was supposed to have dealt largely as well for himself as in the capacity of agent for Lord Hertford.

When Lord Bute was Minister, Lord North was appointed to some office, I believe Joint Paymaster.¹ This was thought a very considerable step for so young a man, for the example which Mr. Pitt has set had not then existed. Dr. Dampier, afterwards Dean of Durham, father to the present Dean of Rochester, was one of the Court chaplains. He had been tutor to Lord North, and soon after his pupil's promotion had occasion to preach before the King at St. James's. The subject, I believe, was pride or envy, and the text he chose was, "But all this availeth me nothing while Mordecai the Jew sitteth in the King's gates." Lord Bute had a dislike to Lord North, who on his part had shown no forwardness to conciliate Lord Bute. This was well enough known. The cry against Lord Bute and Scotchmen was then at its height. Yet Dr. Dampier read his sermon to Lady Guilford and I believe Lady Drake for their opinion, before he should preach it, and they approved very much of it, and were never struck with the particularity of the text. However, when he came to give out his text from the pulpit, the whole audience at once made the application, and there was a general smile and whisper. The King I believe took notice of it, and Dampier went, for some time, by the name of Dr. Mordecai.

Dec. 8, 11 a.m., Bushey Park.—Lady Katherine, Fred and I are going to set out for London in half an hour. I carry with me some prints of different acquaintance of the Lady Norths', which they have given me. I have formed a plan of collecting engraved portraits of all persons whom I have personally known, or seen, and can testify, myself, as to the likeness; which I

¹ North did not become Joint Paymaster until 1766. Bute resigned in 1763.

mean to do on the back of each print. This will become in time a great amusement to me, and the collection will, if preserved, be curious and valuable, as it will furnish more certain and satisfactory evidence of the likeness than exists as to most of the pictures and engravings we now possess of persons dead before the memory of persons now living. The witty sayings of the North family would form a much better collection, I am persuaded, than that of Cicero's was, which Julius Caesar is said to have collected. We were talking the other day of Miss Patty Vernon, the eldest unmarried sister of the present Lord Vernon, and of Lady Harcourt. She and her other unmarried sister live with their mother in the corner house on the right hand of lower Grosvenor Street directly opposite to Lady Guilford's. They are often at her house, are very worthy women, and very much esteemed. But Miss Vernon, though very sensible, is extremely formal in her manners, and as she has unquestionably the essential characteristic of an old maid, she has also in a very great degree what are called old maidish ways and manners. Lady Katherine said she seemed to have all the virginity which her cousin Lady Vernon¹ (the maid of honour and sister to Lady Grosvenor) had lost.

I am going to dine at Mr. Henry Legge's, at Fulham, with the Comte de Serent, eldest son of Mr. de Serent, governor of the Comte d'Artois' children, and Windham.² M. de Serent is in some measure employed in this country on behalf of the princes, although their ostensible representative is the Duc d'Harcourt. Windham, who dined here yesterday, tells me that Serent has thrown out to him the idea that as the combined powers, especially this country and Austria, are now resolved to espouse the cause of the princes, it would be desirable that they should have some person of weight and character appointed to reside with them on the part of England who should have

¹ This should be not Lady but Miss Caroline Vernon. She and her sisters, daughters of Henry Vernon of Hilton Park, were complimented in verse by Horace Walpole as *The Three Graces*.

² William Windham, who had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1783, was not at this time in office. In 1794, however, he came in as Secretary for War.

full powers, and might by his personal qualities moderate and direct the impetuosity or passions and prejudices of those princes, and he has expressed a very strong wish that Windham should be the man.

I was surprised a good deal to find that this was not very foreign to Windham's own wishes. He indeed had suggested Pelham¹ as a fit person to Serent, but Serent has seemed to prefer him very much. I said to him that I was not surprised at Serent's eagerness for him, and that my only difficulty was his dignity. That he now stood in the rank and class of men entitled to Cabinet places, and might certainly, if he chose, be Secretary of State. At the same time, if he were to be pointed out on the part of the princes, that he would then stand on very high ground, and that if the war succeeds, there could be no situation superior to that which he would fill in restoring the monarchy of France, and leading the King, as it were by the hand, to the throne, and that if this war were to fail, no situation he could hold could have any certainty or much dignity belonging to it. In short we settled that I should propose to carry Serent in my carriage to Legge's to-day, and should bring him to converse on the subject, and see whether it may not be managed so as that the proposition may come from the princes. There will be great difficulty in the arrangement and detail of this plan, should the general idea be adopted.

Dec. 16, 10 a.m., Bedford Square.—I now resume the arrears of last week.

Lally² informed me that he heard that Monsieur³ had intended to go through Germany and Italy to Toulon, in consequence of a secret negotiation with Spain, without the concurrence or sanction of this country, and that he had actually set out on his journey, but that a M. de Commène, a person of greater rank and family than prudence and discretion, who had been sent by him to London and had been here above a week,

¹ Thomas Pelham, afterwards second Earl of Chichester, who was to succeed Glenbervie as Irish Secretary in 1795.

² Trophine Gérard, Marquis de Lally-Tollendal, an *émigré*.

³ The Comte de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII.

had suffered this plan to transpire, that our Court had been much displeased, and had given Monsieur notice that certainly preliminaries must be settled before we could permit his going to Toulon—that in consequence of this, it was supposed he would stop at Turin.

On Tuesday Lady Loughborough called to see Lady Katherine and engaged us to dinner that day. We accordingly went and found to meet us only Lady and Miss Erskine, a Mr. Smith, and Mr. Cotes, his secretary. Lord Loughborough was, for him, particularly attentive and obliging to Lady Katherine, but colder than usual, though not uncivil, to me.

After dinner he told me many anecdotes of the late Commodore Johnstone's¹ early life, which show what a restless, unpracticable character he was. I think one must add malignant.

Early in the War of Seven Years Johnstone was midshipman with Captain Cruckshanks, and was treated by him with particular kindness. Another ship of war which was in company with Cruckshanks had an engagement with an enemy's ship off Lisbon. Cruckshanks did not comply with the other captain's signals to come to his assistance. Johnstone was loud in declaring his opinion that he might and ought to have done it. When they came to England, Cruckshanks was brought to a court martial, and Johnstone came forward as a witness against him. His defence was that from his situation he could not have come up, but he was broken. To rescue himself from the imputation of cowardice he challenged Johnstone and they fought. Johnstone having wounded him in the thigh by the discharge of his first pistol he fell, and Johnstone, running up to him, said with great agitation, "Sir, I hope I have not killed you." He answered, "I wish to God you had."

Johnstone was afterwards appointed first lieutenant to Captain Digby (now Admiral Digby) on his getting a ship, having been nominated to that station at the instance of Lord Holland, who

¹ Commodore George Johnstone, who had died in 1787. He first distinguished himself at the age of eighteen in the attack on Port Louis in 1748. He was appointed Governor of West Florida in 1765, commanded a squadron on the coast of Portugal in 1779, and led an expedition which was ultimately unsuccessful against the Cape of Good Hope.

had formed a high opinion of him, that he might serve as a sort of mentor to his nephew.¹ In the West Indies they fell in with a French ship. Johnstone advised the captain to fight her. Digby thought it an unequal match, or that the circumstances were disadvantageous, and rejected his opinion and remonstrances. When they came on shore he tried to bring Digby to a court martial, but by the discretion and good temper of Admiral Cotes, who commanded on that station, he was frustrated in that attempt.

Of course he did not continue with Captain Digby. He was appointed first lieutenant to Captain Forrest (father to Mrs. George Byng) and behaved very gallantly in a celebrated action in which Forrest as commodore with three ships drove from the important station of La Mole de St. Nicholas in the north-west part of St. Domingo (and which has been lately surrendered to a detachment sent from Jamaica) three French ships, of greater size and weight of metal, and two frigates. The Mole is the key to St. Domingo and to Jamaica, as all the trade going to that latter island must pass close to it, and Forrest being master of the station got information of a fleet of eleven French merchantmen which had sailed from one of the ports in St. Domingo, and captured them all. The value was immense, and a question arose whether certain other vessels, part of Admiral Cotes's squadron, to which Forrest belonged, was not entitled to share. The admiral certainly was, and therefore in point of personal interest the dispute was indifferent to him. But whether the other ships should share depended on the fact whether the capture had been premeditated and conceived before Forrest sailed, so as that the whole fleet was to be considered as virtually concerned in the capture. Johnstone took a very hot part on the side where his pecuniary interest lay, *i.e.* for the exclusive right of Forrest's ships. In the West Indies Admiral Cotes espoused the cause of the other ships. Johnstone therefore gave umbrage to him, and besides had a private quarrel with one of the officers, which ended in a duel. The dispute came by appeal before the Privy Council and there again Johnstone showed himself an active partisan, agent, and I believe witness.

¹ Digby's mother was the first Lord Holland's sister.

Lord Anson, then first Lord of the Admiralty, took the same side which Admiral Cotes had done. I forget what the event was, but Johnstone's conduct in it disgusted Lord Anson, and had a great effect in retarding his promotion. It seems Forrest was a very brave, sensible, candid man. He liked Johnstone's spirit and abilities, and allowed him great merit in the affair in which he had beat the French men of war. But Johnstone claimed the entire merit of it, and Forrest had the temper and moderation, though he knew this, to allow him, on all occasions, not all that he arrogated to himself, but the full extent of what he was entitled [to] in Forrest's share of the purse, which was to amount to 150 thousand pounds. Yet by speculations of different sorts, bad purchases in America, etc., his children inherited very little of that immense fortune.

On Wednesday Baron de Gilliers called on me. He had arrived in the night from Ostend. He is one of 24 French gentlemen, appointed by the Court of Vienna, with the rank and pay of Colonel, to join Lord Moira.¹ They are to embark at Ostend, but he has come over in hopes of being employed by this country and in the character of aide-de-camp to Lord Moira. He dined with me on Thursday, and I saw him again on Saturday evening and introduced him to Windham. Lord Grenville has given him a letter to Lord Moira and so has Count Staremborg² (whom he represents as a narrow politician full of all the old fashioned rules of conduct and walking in the trammel and routine of the ancient *diplomatie* of Vienna). Count de Mercy³ had recommended him very strongly to Staremborg. He asked me to desire the Chancellor to write to Lord Moira, supposing them to be much connected. I accordingly wrote to the Chancellor and enclosed him a letter which Gilliers had brought me from M. Malouet,⁴ containing some

¹ Francis Rawdon-Hastings, second Earl of Moira and first Marquess of Hastings, who as a young man had fought with distinction in America and was eventually to be a very successful Governor of India, was at this time in command of an expedition sent to aid the French Royalists in Brittany.

² Austrian Ambassador to England.

³ Count Mercy d'Argenteau, Austrian Minister.

⁴ Baron Pierre Victor Malouet, envoy from Hayti.

ideas on the conduct of the next campaign, and also speaking in very high terms of Gilliers. Malouet's opinion, stated in his letter, is strongly for making the great effort in the interior of France. This I think is the opinion of all the best informed people I have talked with, French, English, and Austrians. It is Mercy's opinion, Malouet's, Gilliers', Burke's, Windham's, Mounier's, Lally's, the Comte de Serent's. The French of course do not like the idea that the dismemberment or permanent debilitation of France should be a primary object of the war, though they all admit that future security and indemnity ought to be attended to. But they, and in that Burke and Windham concur with them, apprehend that not only the other allies but our Ministers are thinking chiefly of conquest.

As Lord Loughborough's¹ answer to my letter was short, and shows in the first place his stiffness towards myself, and in the next, something of his system as to the war, I shall transcribe it.

"MY DEAR SIR,—If you choose that I should enclose your letter from M. de Malouet to Lord Moira I will do it, but, on my own part, I should rather write to caution him with respect to the object of the recommendation, than to increase his confidence in him. I believe him to be of a very active but a very intriguing genius, and to be used with great circumspection.

"Malouet has good parts, but strong prejudices, one of which evidently is an aversion (and perhaps a fair one though unreasonable) to every operation that tends to the future reduction of the map of the French Monarchy. It is too evident that he over-rates most extravagantly the spirit and courage of his countrymen, who I am afraid have not steadiness enough to yield that succour to any internal efforts, that might be expected from the extremity of that misery they endure under the terms of the Conventional power.

"I return you with many thanks the letter from Brussels, which is full of good sense. Yours, etc.—L."

¹ The Lord Chancellor, who had been a partisan of Lord North's, and was therefore *lié* with the diarist's wife.

I showed Windham on Saturday part of this letter, and he agreed with me that it indicates that the idea of dismemberment is very prevalent in the Chancellor's mind, and he said it seemed to confirm the idea entertained by many that the attack upon Dunkirk¹ was very much the Chancellor's plan. He also, however, confirms the notion, which is likewise prevalent, and which was very strongly that of Sir Gilbert Elliot, resulting from the intercourse he had with the Ministers before he went abroad, that Mr. Pitt does not much consult with the Chancellor and that he has no further share of political power than what is necessarily incident to his situation as a member of the Cabinet; that the efficient Ministry is Pitt, Dundas and Grenville.

Lally told me on Tuesday, and it was confirmed by Gilliers, that Mallet du Pan writes from Switzerland that the influence of Barthélemy *est au comble*, and that he repeats his complaints of the insufficiency of Lord Robert FitzGerald.² Windham says Lord Robert is perfectly incompetent, and that this has been long ago represented to the Ministers, as well as the impropriety of having left Lord Hervey³ so long at Florence. It seems he is at last recalled, with the strongest marks of disapprobation, and that the Great Duke, when he agreed to declare against France, made his recall and censure a condition which was complied with. Lord Hervey's appointment at first was a mere matter of intrigue. His sister Lady Elizabeth⁴ made a point of it with the Duke of Richmond, who was then making love to her. It seems he gave early disgust on his arrival, by the gross indecorum of his way of living, the number of his mistresses, etc., insomuch that the late Emperor Leopold had declared that if he had continued at Florence he must have insisted on his recall

¹ The Allies, under the Duke of York, had laid siege to Dunkirk in August, 1793; but in September, after Walmoden's defeat at Hond-schoote, had retreated to Furnes.

² Compare *Glenbervie Journals* (ed. Sichel), p. 115.

³ Eldest son of the fourth Earl of Bristol (also Bishop of Derry), after whom so many hotels up and down Europe are named. Lord Hervey died before his father, like whom he figured among the notorious *tête-à-tête* portraits in the *Town and Country Magazine*.

⁴ Lady Elizabeth Foster, afterwards Duchess of Devonshire; marrying the fifth Duke after the death of his first wife, the celebrated Georgiana.

on account of the indecency of the example he set to his subjects. His behaviour must have been very remarkable to have become matter of dangerous example at Florence.

When Leopold's second son succeeded him (the present Great Duke) he left Manfredini, who had been his son's preceptor, as Minister, and though of an inferior rank his abilities and character justified the choice. However, on the breaking out of the French Revolution Manfredini began to discover opinions more favourable to that system than were agreeable to the principal people and persons of rank and fortune at Florence. Lord Hervey imprudently interfered too much in that sort of domestic unpopularity which Manfredini had excited, and by taking a stronger part against him than was prudent or dignified in a foreign minister disgusting both himself (that was of course) and his opponents. It is believed that private pique to Manfredini had a great share in his violent and indecent remonstrances and manifestoes to the Great Duke. He has been very properly recalled, but his successor, the other William Wyndham, is a strange person to have been sent to heal and conciliate. Windham is surprised and indignant at his appointment. He says he has heard that Lord Egremont had asked for it, or at least insinuated a wish that his brother should have it, but he does not believe this, thinking it out of Lord Egremont's character, and rather supposes it has been done by Lady Carnarvon, his sister, with whom William Wyndham and Mrs. Wyndham live very much.

I had a full conversation with M. de Serent as I carried him to Fulham yesterday. He is very anxious that Windham should be the organ of this country in its communication with the princes,¹ and on my suggesting the eminence of his situation, and that, to obtain an end which we agreed was extremely desirable for the great and common cause, it would be necessary that it should be proposed in such a manner as to give the utmost dignity and weight to his mission, he said that for a formal and

¹ The *émigré* French princes, the Comte de Provence (Monsieur) and the Comte d'Artois, brothers of Louis XVI and themselves destined to reign as, respectively, Louis XVIII and Charles X.

solemn application from the princes that he should be the person to treat with them, no further time would be necessary than to write by to-morrow's post and receive an answer in course from Ham. I have informed Windham of this by a letter this morning containing a full detail of my conversation with Serent, and he writes to me in his answer as follows :

" I thank you not a little for the pains as well as the interest which you take in this business, and have so caught your eagerness that I think it very probable that, contrary to my last intentions, I shall not go out of town this evening. I meant at any rate to regulate myself by the conversation which I expect to have with Pitt. The way of doing this thing, if it is done at all, is certainly what you state. I had seen the objections to making an offer on my part, but the other never came across me. Indeed, till my conversation with you the other night, the idea had been pretty much given up. If I should not leave town, I will see you on Wednesday."

Lady Katherine and I are going to dine at Lord Auckland's and to stay till Wednesday. Lady Auckland is her old and intimate friend ever since they were children, but she has never seen Lord Auckland since his desertion of her father and that Coalition which he had negotiated and conducted in 1783. When Lord Guilford was dying he made her write to Lord Auckland,¹ then at the Hague, to express to him that he died in perfect peace with him, and harboured no ill-will towards him for what had happened. Lady Katherine and I agree in thinking it would be a disrespect to Lord Guilford's memory if she were now, by continuing her resolution of not seeing him, to persist in marks of resentment for what her father had so solemnly forgiven. That mild and Christian act of his cannot alter the nature of Eden's conduct, nor opinions dictated by that conduct, but it can and ought to alter her behaviour to him.

Dec. 16, 9 p.m., Beckenham.—In my conversation with Serent I found that the princes have a soreness and jealousy about them

¹ Auckland was a notorious political turn-coat. He began as a Tory, supported the North-Fox Coalition, deserted it for Pitt, became a Whig with Grenville and held office in the " All the Talents " Ministry.

relative to the intentions of the allied powers, which, however imprudent it may be for them to discover, it is extremely natural that they should entertain, considering the manner in which they have been excluded, as it were, from all concern in the war since last year. By the princes I mean Monsieur and the Comte de Artois. Serent seemed to acknowledge, when I stated it to him, the truth of the report that Monsieur had set out with an intention to go to Toulon, without the privity or sanction of this country, and, it seems, the Comte d'Artois has been invited, and has had thought of going by the first boat that could be found to transport him, to the Royalists of the Vendée. It seems our Court, who stopped the Comte de Provence from executing his purpose, hesitate about the recognition of him as Regent of France, although according to him our declaration for the re-establishment of the hereditary monarch is, especially since the Queen's death, a virtual recognition. It has, it seems, been hinted that certain stipulations must precede the actual acknowledgment of the Regent, and as there is a mystery maintained on the subject, they suspect it is meant to prescribe something concerning the modifications of the monarchy and internal government which may tend to retain France in a state of weakness and depression, and they think they can never accede to any such conditions without dishonour.

I told Serent that I was sure Windham's opinion and his friend Burke's was against any such system, that I believed their principle in approving and supporting the war was that the allied force should be employed in subduing the Convention, and restoring the monarchy in the House of Bourbon. That when that should be done, the internal regulations and the constitution should be left to the King and his subjects, the combined powers only taking care that order and a government with which other states could treat and form alliances should be established. That, at the end of the war, indemnity for expenses incurred and inconveniences suffered, would of course be thought of as incident to the nature of the thing, but that the extent and quality of that indemnity must be regulated by the events, and could not properly form the matter of previous

convention. I found I was correct in my idea of Windham's opinion because, having stated in my letter to him this morning what I had said, he does not in his answer disavow it. Serent said he was sure the princes would entirely accede to that plan, and be completely satisfied with it.

Lady Katherine told me to-day two traits of character so very remarkable that I must recall them here.

During Lord North's Administration it seems he had given to somebody in Opposition a place which Lady Stafford (then Lady Gower) had solicited for her brother Keith Stewart. Soon after, Lady North met Lady Gower at the Chapel at St. James's on a Sunday when the sacrament was administered. They both communicated, and as they were returning from the Communion table along the area, Lady Gower whispered to Lady North, "Your husband is much more disposed to serve his enemies than his friends."¹

Lord Pembroke had an only daughter of whom he was very fond. She died when she was about ten or eleven years of age, and the very next day a person of the family who happened to go into the father's room found on his table, in his own hand, a calculation of how much he would save by her death.

Some ladies were talking one day of the Duc de Richelieu's numerous conquests and the impossibility there seemed to be that anybody could resist him. A devotee who was present expressed an opinion, and said she was sure he never could have obtained any improper favour from her. This was repeated to the Duke, who determined to try, and, after a certain time, and much seeming compunction on her part, succeeded. When he had completely triumphed, the lady said to him, "*Eh bien, vous voyez, je me damne pour vous.*" "*Et moi,*" replied the Duke coolly, taking up his hat and retiring, "*je me sauve.*"

At Mr. Legge's Windham happened to see a number of the new monthly review called the *British Critic*, and said it was an excellently good *Tory* publication. Mrs. Legge observed

¹ Glenbervie elsewhere tells this story as an example of Lady Stafford's "intriguing spirit." Her words, according to this second version, were, "Tell Lord North from me that he is kinder to his enemies than his friends."

that a few years ago nobody would have expected that sort of commendation from the Whig Windham and I said that the French Revolution had worked miracles for that it had made Windham a Tory and Gibbon a Christian. Gibbon has been here lately. Finding Orme's history of India in the library it reminded me of a story of Gibbon's, which though much acquainted with him the Aucklands had never heard. He had gone one day to visit Orme with Dr. Robertson. I forget which was to introduce the other, but it was the first visit of one of the two. They had not been ten minutes in the room before Orme said, "Is it not wonderful that the three greatest historians in the world should be now met together in this room?"

Dec. 17, Beckenham.—Lord Auckland told me last night some curious particulars concerning the Duke of Alcuja¹—now first minister of Spain. He was a common *garde de corps*, a set of guards formed by Philip V on the model of the *gardes de corps* in France. Nominally they must give some proof of *noblesse*, but, in fact, at Versailles, and in Spain, those proofs were often fictitious, and people used to get their natural children or those of their mistresses appointed. In short to be of that corps did not really prove that a man was a gentleman, and their duty is that of mere soldiers. There are about fifty who in their turns are upon guard in the apartments of the palace, and as the etiquette is for them to salute the foreign ministers as they pass, and they go to the King twice every day, they generally know the persons of all those guards.

One day while Lord Auckland was Ambassador, as he and two others of the Corps Diplomatique passed where the now Minister was standing sentry, and after he had saluted them with his musquet, one of those ministers said to Lord Auckland and the other, "I will tell you a circumstance which will surprise you concerning that man. It is not more than an hour since he lay with the Queen." They thought him in jest, but he insisted on it seriously, and being asked how he could think he

¹ Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, created Prince of the Peace in 1795. It was he who dragged Spain into alliance with Napoleon and later brought about the abdication of Charles IV, his relations with whose wife, Maria Louisa of Naples, were notorious.

had proof of anything so unlikely, he told them that he had a connection with one of the Queen's women, that he had just come from her, and that she told him that that morning, while the King was hunting, she had seen the Queen come out of her room, and call the sentry in, that he had followed her, had staid there about a quarter of an hour and had then returned to his post. He said, "Mind what I have told you. You will soon perceive important consequences from it." Lord Auckland wrote this circumstance in a private despatch to England that day.

About a fortnight after the *garde de corps* disappeared for a few weeks, during which time they afterwards found he had a commission in one of the regiments. On his return they saw him on duty as an officer of the very *garde de corps* to which he had lately belonged as a soldier. About this time somebody observed that his watch chain was set with brilliants. He afterwards made one or two more absences and always returned soon, with new military rank.

Lord Auckland being one day with the other Ambassadors attending, according to custom, while the King and Queen were at dinner, Alcuja just came into the room to make his bow for some promotion. When the King addressing himself to the Ambassadors said, "*Ah, voyez-vous cela ? C'est fort bien. C'est Louise (the Queen's name) qui fait tout cela. Mais c'est un bon choix. Elle distingue bien. Mais c'est elle—n'est-ce-pas, Louise ?*" The Queen, who knew that the real history was known to the *corps diplomatique* and to every body but her husband, looked down on her plate, in manifest confusion, and affected to eat very fast. Lord Auckland thinks the King has no suspicion, that if he had he would take a very speedy revenge ; that being very strong he would probably throw his minister and rival out of the window. Alcuja it seems is not handsome, nor robust,¹ but a tall, wasting figure, stoops, and is knock-kneed. Lord Auckland believes him to be a man of abilities. He had no

¹ I asked Lord Auckland if he could compare him to anybody in England, and he said he was something like John Erskine, or somewhat between him and the Count de Tront, the present Minister from the Court of Turin, but younger than Tront.—G.

education, and could not, at first, even speak French. He contrived soon to have Blanca removed and D'Aranda put in his place, till he himself should be ripe for it. He is now at the head of the army, the law, the marine, and foreign affairs, and has all the great orders. Lord Auckland says the Queen is a remarkably agreeable and clever woman, and very plausible, and that, to those who are not aware of the real truth, [she] seems to deserve the high character given of her by Burgnoni.

Lord Auckland says that on his return with his family from Spain, through France, in 1789, the news of the massacre of Foulon and Berthier met them at Bannières while they were at dinner with (I think) the Duchesse de Gontaut, and several other French people. Lord Auckland was expressing his horror of those murders, when Mme. de Gontaut interrupted him and said, "*Il n'y a pas grand mal. Ce n'est que deux coquins de moins dans le monde.*" This was very brutal and unfeeling, but it was very true as to Foulon. He is described as a very bad profligate character by the Duke of Choiseul in his *Memoirs*, and there are relations of great acts of harshness and oppression exercised by him so early as when the Electorate of Hanover was in the occupation of the French after the Convention of Kloster Zeven, he being employed by the French Government as a sort of commissary on that occasion.

I forgot to mention at the time that Windham told us on Saturday that he knew that Lord Lauderdale, Sheridan and Fox had been to dine on board the hulks with Muir and Palmer,¹ the two persons who have been convicted of sedition in Scotland, and are now in the river ready to sail for Botany Bay, according to their sentence. I also hear that it will be an early measure of opposition in Parliament to take up that business—and Windham says he fears they have some grounds.

Dec. 18, 7.30 a.m., Beckenham.—Lord Auckland told me last night many interesting circumstances relative to the Congress last spring at Brussels.

¹ Thomas Muir, a Scots advocate, and Thomas Fyshe Palmer, a Unitarian minister, both took part in the movement for political reform and were sentenced, the one to fourteen years, the other to twelve years, transportation. Muir escaped from Botany Bay in 1796.

When he arrived there he was surprised to hear of the Prince de Saxe-Coburg's treaty with Dumouriez,¹ and the proclamations, but soon found that it had been the act of Colonel Mack, who, as he expressed himself, was the soul and brains of Coburg. He represents Coburg as a man of very inferior understanding. Mack, when he first talked with Lord Auckland on the subject, considered the treaty as very highly advantageous, as overturning the Convention, and settling the affairs of Flanders. Lord Auckland told him he thought quite otherwise; that, in the first place, it was very uncertain whether Dumouriez's expectations would be realised, but certainly that if they were, and the Monarchy should be re-established with all its former possessions, France would become as dangerous as ever to her neighbours, and that pretexts for aggression and war would never be wanting. That the stipulation to deliver up all the towns and strong places which could be taken to the French, would leave Flanders as defenceless as ever, and after all the preparations, and the expense already incurred, the Allies would have obtained neither indemnity nor security by their conquests. He says Mack was convinced by this reasoning, but said the thing was done and could not be undone, that the Prince had signed and could not retract without dishonour. Lord Auckland replied that he was not of that opinion, that a political error could not be too soon corrected, and that the only point would be to find some medium and ground for annulling the proclamation. He found Mack much affected by all this, and he drew up a full narrative of all his negotiations with Dumouriez, which he delivered to Lord Auckland, a copy of which he immediately transmitted to London. He has promised to show me the original. It appeared that after the third engagement, in which Dumouriez had been beat (the whole merits of that brilliant part of the campaign belonging, according to Lord Auckland and every other account I have heard, to Mack), Dumouriez opened a treaty with him, representing that after fighting three battles for Flanders which every former commander had given

¹ In March, 1793, whereby Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the Austrian commander, agreed not to attack the French, and Dumouriez undertook to evacuate Brussels.

up after the loss of one, he found he could no longer defend it, that besides he was tired of serving the Convention, whose conduct and principles he abhorred, and that on honourable terms he was desirous to concur with the Allies in attacking the Republic and restoring the monarchical government. He was then in possession of Gertruydenberg, Breda, Brussels, etc., and Mack reflected that the whole summer might be consumed in besieging and taking those places. It was agreed that, before Dumouriez's defection could be known, they should be evacuated, and that, under plausible colours, he should by rapid marches retire with his army from Brabant, pretending the design of returning soon, and should leave it to the quiet occupation of the Austrians. On the other hand, he required those conditions, which afterwards formed the basis of the first proclamation, and that he should be held up as the saviour of France, and the restorer of order and good government. To all this Mack, and through him the commander-in-chief, agreed. Dumouriez, as to the evacuation of Flanders, performed his part, and the proclamation was issued. In the meantime the Congress met at Brussels.

I have mentioned Lord Auckland's sentiments. He has not told me whether they were merely his own, or dictated by his instructions. Staremborg (now minister in England) whom he represents as young and indiscreet, but spirited and honourable, was extremely indignant, and declared loudly that the Emperor's honour had been compromised. Lord Auckland made it his business to moderate him, to reconcile Mack to the revocation of the proclamation, to put the Prussian Minister Keller forward in remonstrating against adhering to it, and to come as little forward himself as possible in the business. A pretext was soon found. Dumouriez's hopes, or those he had endeavoured to inspire, that his army would follow him were frustrated, and, on the ground that he had not been able to fulfil his part of the treaty, the whole was annulled by the second proclamation, which Lord Auckland says Coburg signed with great facility.

I should have mentioned that, in the interim, Count Metternich had arrived, who was then very much in the Emperor's

confidence, and is, according to Lord Auckland, though not a clever man, more so than Prince Coburg, and that he was also very clearly of opinion that the first proclamation could not be maintained. It is needless to make the very obvious remarks which must occur on this very statement taken from Lord Auckland's mouth, nor to observe on the treatment of Dumouriez since. The Emperor it seems was very angry for the part Mack had taken (probably in consequence of the representation of Metternich and Staremborg), and on that account refused the promotion Coburg had solicited for him. On his part, he was mortified and disgusted so as really to be affected in his health, and to render it advisable for him to leave the army, which he did, and returned to Moravia. The Emperor became afterwards sensible of the loss he would sustain if so able an officer were totally to retire from his service, and gave him improperly a regiment of cuirassiers, which was an extraordinary promotion. Lord Auckland has sometime since had a letter from him written in extremely good humour, in which he informs him of the recovery of his health, and declares his wishes and intention of soon returning to fight under the auspices of England, and that he makes no doubt the joint forces of Austria and England will soon be directed against a new enemy, meaning, it seems, the King of Prussia. These ideas are probably altered since the late exertions and successes of the Duke of Brunswick.

9 p.m., *Bedford Square*.—On Saturday se'nnight I find Windham, William Elliot, Pelham, and Burke had dined, by an appointment of several days, at the Chancellor's and met Pitt. This was so natural an occasion for him (the Chancellor) to ask me, if he had any serious thoughts of serving me, that even Lady Katherine, who is much less *ombrageuse* than I am, thinks his not doing it a proof of the contrary. She is going to write to him to-night to hint that his silence has not contributed to diminish the anxiety she had expressed to him in her last.

I must correct a mistake, in the account I have given above, of some of the etiquettes of the Court of Spain. It was the late King that the *Ambassadors* went to see every day at 11 and 1. The present King, by the suggestions of the Queen, has altered

this to twice a week. The inferior foreign ministers only used to go at one. The late King [Charles III] used to wear always a leather waistcoat and breeches, ready for shooting, but with a very rich gala coat over them, of an extremely antique cut. He spoke very good French, but very often spoke Italian. This King speaks French with more difficulty, but speaks it, however, to foreigners. The Queen speaks very good French, and both very good Italian. Lord Auckland has a little miniature of the present King of Spain which he says is very like him.

Dec. 21.—Yesterday I dined *tête-à-tête* with Lady Katherine, and went in the evening to Lady Yarmouth's, where were Lord George Conway, Miss Colmore, and Lord Beauchamp,¹ a sensible, unaffected young man—tall, like a Conway, but red-haired and plain. Great pains have been taken with his education, and they say they have not been thrown away.

The Marquise de Coigny came in. She says it is believed that Danton endeavoured to save the Queen of France, and that this was the reason of his late eclipse for some weeks after her murder. George Conway says the leaders of the Convention endeavoured in the course of last summer to negotiate for her safety with the Prussians and Austrians, but that their demands were so absurd (the evacuation of all places and territory taken from France, etc.) and their good faith so justly distrusted, that all their proposals were rejected. Mme. de Coigny says that Danton received 500 louis d'ors from the Bishop of Autun [Talleyrand] to enable him to escape last year. She says the character of the young King [Louis XVII] showed great duplicity so early as last year. She knows a lady who was very ill with the Queen, but used to be at Court; that the boy used to say to her, "*Je vous aime bien, mais Maman va venir, et elle ne vous aime pas, ainsi je ne ferai pas semblant de vous aimer. Mais quand elle sera partie nous jouerons bien.*" She says he was lively and *espiègle*. This is the account of a person who I believe hated the Queen.

Lady Katherine has just received a letter from Lord Sheffield.

¹ The Lord Yarmouth of the Regency and afterwards third Marquess of Hertford, already mentioned as the husband of Maria Fagniani.

A Frenchman has been at Sheffield Place whose father had an establishment at Lyons which cost three millions of livres, and whose brother is still there. The brother writes that fifteen guillotines are in perpetual activity there, that the streets literally run with human blood, and that the air in some of them is become infectious from that cause ; that the town is entirely at the command of forty persons, and that a severe famine rages except among the soldiery.

Dec. 25, Bedford Square.—I remained till Monday morning at Mr. Legge's. The company was Mr. and Mrs. Legge and myself. Mrs. Legge and I read a great deal of Spanish together.

Cholmondeley¹ breakfasted with us on Monday, and we rode to town together. He had had an invitation from the Chancellor for him and Mrs. Cholmondeley to dine with them *en famille* last Saturday. These sort of invitations, which he says some years ago were very frequent from the Chancellor to himself, have been long intermitted, and therefore he concluded that the Chancellor knows his intimacy with Windham, and had some plan of negotiation concerning him. He therefore wrote to Windham to know what language he was to hold when he should see Lord Loughborough. He also in his letter hinted to him his opinion that, with Lord Spencer,² Windham ought to come into the Cabinet. Windham, in his answer, referred him to me to communicate to him the sort of negotiation between Mr. de Serent and me concerning himself, which I did. Cholmondeley thinks if he is suggested by the princes it will be flattering, and enhance his present eminence, whatever resolution he may take. Windham says of the plan (in his letter to Cholmondeley) it must take its chance. As to his coming into the Cabinet, he says Lord Spencer is as much against it as ever, and that he himself is of Lord Spencer's opinion, as he had been of

¹ George James Cholmondeley, great-nephew to Horace Walpole, nephew to Peg Woffington, and an intimate friend of Windham's.

² George John, second Earl Spencer, entered the Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty at the end of 1794 and conducted his department with great ability. Windham, with the Duke of Portland, had taken office in May of that year when, alarmed by the symptoms of social unrest, the "Old Whigs" had supported the Government in the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

Cholmondeley's last spring, who it seems had then advised against accepting office.

On Sunday, the Chancellor at last called on Lady Katherine and made the apology of business in the morning, and fatigue at night, for not having come, or written sooner. She went over all the grounds of my claims or expectations, according to what we had agreed on before, and of which I had given her a memorandum in writing, and he expressed great wishes and intentions to serve me; and desired her to tell me to look out for such employment as I might think would suit me. He admitted what she mentioned to have promised me, if Opposition had come in on the King's illness. My general plan of £2,000 a year, and half pay of £1,000, she explained to him.

Lord Moira writes that he is tormented by the Emigrants, who are continually giving their counsel unasked, and will know better not only what he ought but what he is to do than himself. I am glad to find that he has not yet had a new adviser in Baron Gilliers. I find from Lally, who called here on Monday night, that he is still in town, and, as I apprehend, trying to renew his negotiation for raising a regiment in Dauphiné.

Lally tells me that Mme. de Lally (as he has just discovered) has been in London several months.

Mme. de Flahault¹ told me yesterday, that Mr. Beaumetz,² who, as one of the Department of Paris, accompanied the Royal Family to the National Assembly on the famous 10th of August, and who, having escaped soon afterwards to England (in company with the Bishop of Autun), returned on account of his only daughter, and has only lately been able to escape again, disguised as a sutler, told her that in crossing the garden from the Palace to the Assembly the King had appeared little affected, that the Queen, the first part of the way, shed abundance of tears, but afterwards composed herself, and put on a firm lofty countenance

¹ Adelaide Souza-Botelho, Comtesse de Flahault, whose husband had recently perished on the scaffold. She subsequently became celebrated as a novelist.

² Bon Albert Briois, Chevalier de Beaumetz, had been chosen President of the National Assembly in 1790, but two years later, endangered by his Royalist sympathies, had been forced to leave France.

which she preserved on entering the Salle, and that the Dauphin, all the way, seemed to listen to the drums, and was imitating with his little feet the march of the Grenadiers who guarded them.

Lady Katherine and I are going to eat our Christmas dinner, by invitation, at the Chancellor's.

11.30 p.m.—Lady Erskine, Miss Erskine, Lady Sinclair, and Mr. Hackett, one of Mme. de Lally's brothers, and first cousin to the Chancellor, dined at the Chancellor's. After dinner I thanked the Chancellor for the kindness with which he had spoken to Lady Katherine, but he avoided all particular conversation, and did not say a syllable that was encouraging to hope, either in or out of my profession.

Lady Katherine and I, on comparing notes, after we returned home, found we had agreed in a prophecy or conjecture concerning Lady Sinclair, without any communication, from some little circumstances we had both observed.

I called on Lord Yarmouth yesterday. He says it is not the superior management of Barthélemy,¹ nor any liking to the French Revolution, but fear on the one hand, from the openness of their frontier on the side of Bâle, and distrust of the Allies on the other hand, among whom, according to him, there is very little concord or unity of plan, that induces the Swiss to persevere in their neutrality. He thinks unless Alsace should be conquered they will not venture to declare against France. The Avoyer Stenger (a very able and experienced statesman) said lately, speaking on this subject, "*Wer hat Elsenz hat uns*," i.e. whoever is master of Alsatia is master of Switzerland. Lord Yarmouth thinks there is no chance of taking Strassburg this winter.

Lady Yarmouth told me that Lord Yarmouth has just refused the Embassy to Sweden.

Dec. 27, 3 p.m., Bedford Square.—I have just now received a note from Mr. Dundas,² which, considering the late circum-

¹ The Marquis de Barthélemy, French envoy to Switzerland.

² Henry Dundas, afterwards first Viscount Melville, at this time Home Secretary, but to be transferred to the War Department in the following July.

stances which have taken place first with regard to Toulon, between me and Mr. Pitt, and since in the correspondence and conversation of Lady Katherine and the Chancellor, leads her and me to think that some material proposition is going to be made to me. Perhaps to go Secretary to Ireland. Lady Hobart told Lady Katherine two days ago that she had heard from very good authority that I was to succeed her husband.¹ As the note is very short and, though it mentions nothing particular, may be the prelude to a material step in my life, I will transcribe it.

“Mr. Secretary Dundas presents his compliments to Mr. Douglas, and will be glad if he will take the trouble of calling on Mr. Dundas at Wimbledon in the course of this day. Mr. Dundas has something material to mention to Mr. Douglas, and if he can make it convenient would wish him to eat his dinner at Wimbledon at five, Friday, 27th Dec.”

I went to Wimbledon to dinner. Mr. Dundas took me aside before dinner, and told me that what he had to say to me was to propose my going Secretary to Ireland. That he had mentioned me to Mr. Pitt about a week ago, who had approved, and that Lord Westmorland [the Lord Lieutenant] had been immediately written to, to know if he had any objection, that his answer had only come the day before, so that he could not mention it to me sooner.

After expressing myself with civility on the flattering circumstance of being thought of for so important a situation, I desired a little time to think of it, to which he agreed, stating, however, that as the Irish Parliament meets the 21st January (the same day with that of England), and the Secretary ought to be there for eight or ten days before, there would be no time to be lost. I asked if he had any objection to my consulting (besides Lady Katherine) Lord Mansfield, the Chancellor and Windham.

¹ Robert Hobart, Lord Hobart, afterwards fourth Earl of Buckinghamshire, was Chief Secretary from 1789 to 1793, when, as here anticipated, he was succeeded by Glenbervie. In 1794 he went as Governor to Madras but, after four strenuous years, was recalled in 1798 owing to differences with Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), the Governor General. From 1801 till his death in 1816 he held a variety of offices.

He said none—that the Chancellor already knew and approved of the thing. I myself conjecture that he has a great share in it, and that Lady Katherine's letter forwarded it very much.

I should have mentioned that Dundas began the conversation by saying that he was apprised of all that had passed between Mr. Pitt and Sir Gilbert Elliot and me relative to Toulon.¹ He therefore knew my situation, professional and private, and what on that occasion was thought an adequate or reasonable consideration for my quitting the Bar. He said that though there is nothing fixed, it is understood that a Secretary when he quits the office is to have from £1,500 to £2,000 a year. He said that though it was a proper courtesy to consult the actual Lord Lieutenant, yet if he were to be changed (an event which I said must be at no great distance) his successor would find me in the office and that he would not be allowed to remove me. I said nothing of terms, or conditions, meaning first to consult Lady Katherine and the Chancellor and Lord Hobart, whom Dundas desired me to see immediately. On calling at his lodgings on my return to town, I found he was gone to Plymouth till Monday.

I went to the Chancellor (having first called at home to tell Lady Katherine what had passed). The Chancellor was as clear that I ought to accept this place as that I ought not to have taken that to Toulon. But he said I ought to make no conditions; that it would have a bad grace, and that Ministers ought not to establish such a precedent; that a great provision in some shape or another was incident to the office, etc.

I went to-day to Lord Mansfield at Kenwood. He seemed at first to think I ought to secure, as a preliminary stipulation, a certain retreat, but he began to think otherwise after I had told him how strong the Chancellor was against any bargain. To be brought in to the English House of Commons he seemed to agree with me in thinking desirable for me, and useful for

¹ There had been a proposal, which came to nothing, to send Glenbervie to Toulon, then in English occupation, with Elliot, who had been appointed Commissioner. Elliot was later, as Lord Minto, Governor General of India.

the situation, and thought I ought to mention that to Dundas or Pitt.

I sent a letter at dinner time to Mr. Dundas to tell him of my determination to accept, and have just received a very civil answer, in which he says my stay cannot be above *a very few days*. This will be very inconvenient, as I am so new to the business.

The Dowager Lady Guilford, Lady Hume, and Lord Guilford dined with us to-day. They all approve of my acceptance. Lady Guilford was very cordial about it. I am to stop at Banbury to be sworn in to the office of Recorder on my way to Ireland. There are two great drawbacks on this appointment. First, no certainty, the answer to which is that I have no certainty in my profession (and this Lord Mansfield, on explanation, seemed to feel); second, that I must leave Lady Katherine in a state, which from her constitution, and the experience of her former lying-in, is very anxious. She is very good on this, as on all occasions, and very reasonable.

I have been this evening first to visit my brother-in-law Frederick,¹ who was giving a collation to the Turkish Secretary to the Embassy, the principal Dragoman, and another Greek belonging to the Ambassador. The Dragoman, a man of about 35, speaks Italian as his native tongue, French very tolerably, and ancient and modern Greek, Spanish and Latin, and moreover seems to be a very clever man. The Secretary is a Turk, and speaks only Turkish. The other person (a Greek) speaks French. They are all three remarkably well bred. I am going to-morrow to wait on the Ambassador, with Mr. Paradise.²

I went afterwards to Mme. de Flahault's, where I found Mr. d'Autun [Talleyrand], M. Beaumetz, and a Mr. le Comte de

¹ Frederick North, younger son of Lord North the Prime Minister, took a life-long interest in Eastern affairs. Travelling in Greece as a young man, he entered the Orthodox Church, and he was to become one of the most ardent English champions of the cause of Greek independence. From 1798 to 1805 he was Governor of Ceylon, and in 1817 he succeeded his brother as fifth Earl of Guilford. In 1796 there was some talk of his being sent as Ambassador to Constantinople.

² John Paradise, a linguist of Macedonian birth, who had been a friend of Doctor Johnson's.

Favernes (I think), a Welsh nephew of Mr. de Flahault's. He and Talleyrand gave the highest character of Chevalier, who wrote the *Essay on the Plain of Troy*, and is here now, anxious to be employed as a travelling tutor. He had been in that capacity and had two pensions from pupils, but they being proscribed his pensions are not paid, and he is without a farthing. He is, it seems, a man of great moderation in expense.¹

Dec. 30, Bedford Square.—I have just answered a case, the last, probably, I ever shall. I felt something very serious and awful almost, in subscribing my name to this last professional act.

Yesterday morning I paid a visit of an hour to the Turkish Ambassador at the Royal Hotel, and was much entertained with the conversation I held with him, through the interpretation of his Dragoman and of Mr. Partridge,² who accompanied me there.

¹ Later, Glenbervie records his thankfulness that he had not employed Chevalier as tutor to his son, his principles being by no means orthodox. He had been tutor to Sir Francis Burdett.

² Presumably a mistake for Paradise.

Jan. 1, Bedford Square.—I am going to Court to be presented *on going to Ireland*, for I have, it seems, no appointment from this country as Secretary. Indeed I understand my appointment there is nothing but a verbal one, or rather an implied nomination by the Lord Lieutenant and a notice to the different post offices that I am named his *first Secretary*. I have the privilege of franking (of any bulk) in both kingdoms.

Jan. 2.—The King when I was presented (by Mr. Secretary Dundas) merely said, “When do you go?” and “That is very quick,” when I answered that I was told by Mr. Dundas that I must go on Monday. It was not a cheerful day at Court, for the Toulon news could not be concealed, nor glossed over.¹ Yet some good courtiers were proving, or rather contending, that the event is fortunate. There were three reports—all the ships carried off—all burnt—some carried off, and some left. Mr. Pitt thinks the last most probable. But we can have no accounts of our own for fourteen days. Pitt thinks Sir Gilbert Elliot will come over immediately. He thinks his commission to France not at an end, though he agreed with me that there was no chance of being exercised any more at Toulon. There seems no prospect of any good for Lord Moira’s expedition, and the French are still pressing obstinately against the two frontier armies of Flanders and Alsace. Yet Pitt and Dundas were merry and the Chancellor sanguine.

I go on Friday morning to Pitt to receive his directions concerning Ireland.

¹ Toulon, which had been held by the English since August, was abandoned in the last days of December, 1793.

Jan. 3, 11 p.m.—I have had for two or three days a complete specimen of the hurry and confusion in which I am to be plunged.

Yesterday I had a long conversation, after the drawing-room and before dinner, with Mr. Corry,¹ who gave me some information and much general opinions concerning Ireland. He is a well-bred man, and seems to have parts. He has no brogue, but he is described as *un peu intriguant, en politique et en amour*. He was called to the Bar, and he once acted as a sort of groom of the bed-chamber to the late Duke of Cumberland. The scandalous chronicle said he was a favourite of the Duchess of Cumberland, as he is said to have been of the late Mrs. O'Neale.

To-day I had an interview with Mr. Pitt. He explicitly declared I was not to be removed on the change of a Lord Lieutenant. That Lord Westmorland would continue till a situation to his mind could be found him, which must depend on contingencies. We talked over the people talked of in public for his successor. He said Lord Spencer, though it was so desirable, was out of the question, and also Lord Abercorn, though so desirous of it. He mentioned many circumstances of great unfitness belonging to him, and among others his intolerable pride, which he said was quite ridiculous.² He thinks he will be troublesome this winter in Ireland, where he means to remain. He thinks he has very considerable abilities and will probably take a lead in the House of Lords. It seems in consequence of his early intimacy with Mr. Pitt he had held a language in Ireland as if he spoke his sentiments, and that more than the Lord Lieutenant, that he (Mr. Pitt) had been forced to take means to set that right, that this had given umbrage to Lord Abercorn and put him out of humour.

He said in the present circumstances Lord Hardwicke³ was

¹ Isaac Corry, M.P. for Newry, from 1798 to 1804 Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. He was the most eloquent supporter of the Union in the Irish Parliament. In 1800 he fought a duel with Grattan.

² John James, ninth Earl and first Marquess of Abercorn, was noted for the magnificent state which he kept.

³ The third Earl of Hardwicke eventually became Lord Lieutenant, but not until 1801.

the person most likely to be Lord Lieutenant, and asked how far I knew him. I told him of my acquaintance with him, and said that appointment would give me great satisfaction. But if Lord Camden were to die, he said Lord Bayham,¹ who would then have a rank and fortune suited to the station, would be a man he should think of for the Lord Lieutenancy. He said he was not very publicly known, but was highly qualified.

We discussed the topics of the Catholics, the volunteers, the militia, the supply of troops from Ireland, the measure of trying to procure some contribution of money from thence for the war, the idea of Union. He said Ireland had hitherto been, and must yet continue, a government of expedients; but wished, rather than had any very specific hopes of, a general remodelling of the political frame of that country. He desires to keep back if possible concessions which may at a convenient opportunity be purchased by some sort of union—which, however, he seems to despair of ever seeing accomplished. He holds very cheap the fears of the Protestants in Ireland, should the Catholics get into Parliament, of the recovery of the obsolete titles to the landed property, and believes those fears are not real, but brought forward to induce Government to protect them in the monopoly of power and emoluments. His plan seems to be to let the weight of the Catholics, from their numbers and their increasing property, carry them by imperceptible steps into the legislature and their share of office; but he seems to wish this plan not to be known to be his by the Irish Government.

Trail is to go with me, and to have the salary of £400 a year paid by the public to the private secretary. His company and his counsels will be invaluable, and the scheme, which I think first occurred to Lady Katherine, and which he hesitated about when I first proposed it, has, since it has been agreed to by him, taken quite a load off my mind. His weak sight will render it

¹ Lord Bayham succeeded his father, the distinguished lawyer who had been Chatham's Lord Chancellor, as second Earl Camden on April 18, 1794, and he became Lord Lieutenant a few months later in place of Lord Fitzwilliam, Westmorland's transient and embarrassed successor. On the outbreak of the rebellion of 1798 he gave way, at his own request, to Lord Cornwallis.

necessary for me to take another person (and he must be safe, and confidential) to write.

Jan. 11, 8 a.m., Oxford.—I have been so hurried since my appointment, or rather nomination, that I have not found a moment since the third till now to continue this journal. I fear I shall find it very difficult, but I firmly intend it in my most hurried times in Dublin.

I had two conferences with Mr. Pitt on the affairs of Ireland, and two with Mr. Dundas, before I left London. They were very general. The common principle of both is that the Catholics being the great majority of the inhabitants, must in justice and policy be admitted by degrees to a full participation of all the advantages now held exclusively by the Protestants; but that this must be done by degrees, to avoid confusion and a sudden shock, and must be done as it were insensibly to the Protestants, who have at present the *monopoly* of the government, and good things, and whose real fear is not, as they sometimes pretend, danger to the Protestant faith (for Mr. Pitt seems to think the Christian religion more in danger than the overthrow of Protestantism by Popery) or, as at others, the restoration of the lands to the old Catholic proprietors, but the apprehension of losing that monopoly. Mr. Pitt thinks, truly, that such a monopoly is unjust and cannot long be maintained, but that on the other hand it is natural that those who have it should be very unwilling to relinquish it, and that it would be impolitic, and also even in some degree unjust to wrest it from them with violence. This doctrine, which seems to me sound and moderate, must not be avowed in Ireland.

I left London yesterday at 3 p.m. My poor boy was taken ill and had some threatenings of a fit just before I set off, but being a little better when I did set off, Lady Katherine and I myself thought it best to go—as I must have done so next day whatever had happened. I have an express from her to-day which left London at half-past 9 and was here this morning at 7, to say the child was much better and in a quiet sleep.

Jan. 11, 12 p.m., Stratford-on-Avon.—I came round to-day by Banbury and was sworn in to the office of Recorder.

We proceed to-morrow, and mean to be within ten miles of Chester, about ninety miles from hence.

Jan. 14, 7 p.m., Holyhead.—We slept at Tarporley, ten miles on the other side of Chester, on Sunday, and last night at Bangor Ferry, and arrived here to-day at 3. The wind is quite contrary, and the captain says he cannot sail to-night.

After my first interview with Mr. Pitt on Friday, 4th January, I wrote to Lord Westmorland, by Nepean's advice, to express to him that I had been extremely flattered to learn from Mr. Pitt the obliging manner in which his Excellency had been pleased to express his *approbation* of my appointment to be his chief Secretary. After the letter was gone it occurred to me that perhaps this letter might give offence, and that, in form, I ought to have treated the appointment as made by him. On mentioning this doubt to Lord Hobart I was sorry to find that he thought so. I did not imagine, however, that it would be a subject of serious complaint. At Litchfield on Sunday morning, a messenger who had left London the night before brought me a packet from Lord Hobart containing a letter from him and another from Mr. Dundas. Hobart wrote to me that my letter had been by no means satisfactory to Lord Westmorland, seeming to him to imply too strongly that his Lordship had had little share in my nomination. Both Lord Hobart and Dundas cautioned me in my conduct and conversation with the Lord Lieutenant not to say anything outright which should convey the idea that I had not been appointed by him. Lord Hobart told me why he gave me this advice. Dundas said it was needless to trouble me with his reasons, but to be assured that they were very *substantial*. I have written to him to thank him and say I shall follow his advice. But this is a bad sample of the Lord Lieutenant. Indeed I do not yet know the manner of my appointment. I have been told that it is not by any formal instrument, nor anything else but a written notice from the Lord Lieutenant to the post-offices of both kingdoms that he has appointed me, and to suffer my letters (of whatever size or weight) to go free.

Jan. 15, 11 a.m., Holyhead.—The wind was so cross this

morning that the captain said we should at least be fifty hours at sea if we sailed, and I determined to wait here.

I received a very friendly letter from Windham in answer to mine, and not very discouraging, and he came to town on Thursday and called on me that evening, to talk over Ireland and Irishmen. He was not there during a session of Parliament, and never began housekeeping. As to his own plans, he seems determined for the present not to take office, and says that is Lord Spencer's resolution and the opinion of most of their friends, which reason seems to be what weighs most with Windham. But he says he and Lord Spencer are more strenuous than ever for supporting the war notwithstanding, and indeed on account of, the late ill successes. Both Pitt and Dundas had told me that Lord Spencer was out of the question for the next Lord Lieutenancy, and Windham says that, independent of his resolution not to take office at present, he has now a fixed determination never to accept that situation. He had agreed to take it at the finish of the Regency.

It is generally believed in England and reported by those who come from Ireland that Lord Westmorland is much influenced by Mrs. Stratford, the daughter of Dr. Francis Hamilton, a clergyman of large private fortune in Ireland, of the Hamilton family, and wife of a brother of Lord Aldborough.¹ His connection with this lady is said to have given a great deal of uneasiness to Lady Westmorland. When on her deathbed she desired to see her husband alone. He remained with her a very considerable time, and retired in the greatest agitation. It is conjectured that she had reproached him with his conduct and infidelities, and, for some time after her death, he seemed to have sunk into a deep melancholy. The accounts of him lately are that he is recovered, and that his intercourse and parties with Mrs. Stratford have been renewed, though I was told that Sheridan said at Brooks's a few days before I left London that

¹ In 1801 her husband succeeded his brother as third Earl of Aldborough. The lady died in 1811 and in her obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* was described as having been a Dublin toast and the best horsewoman in Ireland. As Lady Aldborough she figures later in these journals.

he heard he was quite mad. The scandalous chronicle says that Lord Hobart had been one of many predecessors of the Viceroy with Mrs. Stratford.

Lord Auckland told me he never went to the Irish House of Commons but full dressed, and was never once seen on foot in the streets of Dublin. This formality, if otherwise advisable, is so incompatible with the present manners and the short space of thirteen years has produced so total a change in that respect that it would now be quite impracticable or ridiculous. At that time people still went full dressed to dinner and to the opera in London, and could not in decency go otherwise to the pit or boxes at the opera. For these last three or four years, if a man has been to Court he cannot go, without some singularity, to dine out or to an assembly without putting on a frock. I remember in the year 1789 Fox in the managers' box at the trial,¹ where for the first year or two they all went full dressed, asking if he could go in his full suit that evening to the opera. These sort of trifles, as they seem, have had a deep connection with all the more important modern changes which had been creeping on, and striking root unperceivably till about four years ago they blossomed with such luxuriance in France, and have since produced such a monstrous crop of deadly fruit. I have also heard Fox say that the neglect of dress in people of fashion had he thought contributed much to remove the barriers between them and the vulgar and to propagate levelling and equalising notions.

So late as the years 1788 and 1789, at some great assembly given during the Regency business by the Duchess of Portland, all the men went full-dressed.

Jan. 18, 8 a.m., Dublin Castle.—The wind was so cross that we could not sail till Thursday at 11, and even then it blew almost directly out of Dublin harbour. But as the packet with the mail was to sail I determined to do so too. We got to Dunleary (five Irish miles from Dublin) at 6 and here in Lord Ranelagh's coach about 8. The Lord Lieutenant was gone about two hours before to Rathfarnham, four Irish miles off—

¹ Of Warren Hastings.

a house belonging to Lord Loftus (the Postmaster General). He had left word that he had stayed till then. I wrote to him by a messenger that I was come and what had detained me from the 14th. The messenger brought rather a dry note or letter in return, to say that he would be glad to see me as early as convenient this morning at Rathfarnham. I am just going there.

Alas ! on Wednesday I received a letter from Lady Katherine telling me that Fred, who had got better on Saturday, was on Sunday seized with a worse fit than she had ever seen him in.

Jan. 25, 9 a.m., Dublin Castle.—It is more owing to the sort of confusion and chaos of ideas produced from seeing so many new faces than from real want of time that I have not been able to continue this journal since my arrival. As yet, though I know many faces, many names, and many particulars of character and situation, I apply the face of one to the name of another, to the character of a third, to the situation of a fourth. One would suppose this sort of perplexity inextricable if the contrary were not proved by repeated experience in similar cases.

The Lord Lieutenant is disagreeable, but less so than I expected, and he has been hitherto sufficiently polite and attentive to me.

One of the things which has most struck me is the great readiness with which men speak to me of the characters and political—or more properly place—views of others. An intimate friend, to me a perfect stranger—and one with whom they ought, one would think, to observe considerable reserve—tells me his friend is ambitious, artful, false ; that he wants such a place of £1000 a year, and that his parliamentary interest does not entitle him to it.

Grattan made a longish speech the first day of the session, which was full of moderation and strong in favour of the eternal policy and principle, as he called it, of the English connexion, of standing and falling by Great Britain. The war he said was to be supported while Britain was engaged in it, whether it was wisely or justly undertaken, whether it has been ably or successfully undertaken, or not. He hinted his intention still to insist on a reform of Parliament.

George Ponsonby,¹ the second day, described Ireland as an equal independent nation, connected with Great Britain in a federal union.

I am to be chosen for the borough of Irishtown or St. Eunice in the room of Marcus Beresford, son of the Bishop of Ossory. He is gone to India with Hobart. This borough is in the patronage of the Bishop. There are three others belonging to three other Sees, but they are understood to be bound to take the nomination of Government.

I take my seat next Tuesday, the 28th.

Fred was much better this day se'nnight. I have no letters since. There are three mails due, and the wind quite contrary and stormy.

Jan. 29.—I took my seat yesterday. The returning officer had sent up the indenture of return by mistake without sending it with the precept to the Sheriff to be annexed to the writ and returned all together by him into the Hanaper. However, the Clerk of the Hanaper made out a certificate of my due return.

Feb. 16, 11 a.m., Dublin Castle.—My numberless occupations and the perpetual round of dinners have rendered it impossible for me to continue this journal. I resume it to-day, and hope at least every Sunday to write something in it.

We have had too great a parliamentary calm hitherto. At least I fear it will not last out the session. Some little breezes seem to indicate a change of weather. Mr. Grattan engaged in his speech in the beginning of the session to bring forward what he says is still wanting to complete the system of free trade. Ponsonby moved to bring in his bill for the reform. Sir Laurence Parsons,² who is the nephew, I believe, and certainly the *élève*

¹ George Ponsonby, a steady opponent of the Union, became Lord Chancellor of Ireland on the formation of the Ministry of "All the Talents" in 1806 and, on the return of the Tories to power, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

² He was the eldest son of Sir William Parsons, fourth baronet, whose younger brother Laurence was created Lord Oxmantown in 1792, Viscount Oxmantown in 1795 and Earl of Rosse in 1806; the barony and earldom with special remainder to his nephew. Sir Laurence therefore, who had succeeded to the baronetcy in 1791, became second Earl of Rosse in 1807.

of Flood, though he had a regiment of militia given him last year, and has been put into the remainder of his uncle Lord Oxmantown's patent, has taken his seat on the opposition bench, and has threatened various hostile motions touching the army and the internal protection of the country against invasion.

Two days ago a civility on my part towards that good-natured, absurd man, the Duke of Leinster, was taken by him as something quite opposite. He is entirely master in the county of Kildare. Of the three persons returned by the late Sheriff to the Judges for serving next year, the first was his brother Lord Edward,¹ the husband of Pamela—the other two are also friends of the Duke's. When a man of his consequence is friendly to Government it is customary here to pay him the compliment of allowing him to name the Sheriff of his county, a compliment, by the bye, which is liable to great inconvenience and abuse. The Duke could not have the slightest reason to expect such a compliment. But I wished to show him my personal regard—and I asked him if he had any objections to the second person on the list (naming him). He answered, drawing himself up, I have no objection to any person in the county, but he is not the first on the list. He might as well have supposed that I could have named Hamilton Rowan, Simon Butler, or Napper Tandy, as his brother. I said, "He is not the first certainly, but I should be sorry that he were appointed if he were a man to whom you had any objection." He seemed quite agitated. I changed the subject, and soon left him. I found he afterwards mentioned what had passed to Mr. Cuffe and complained that Government took every opportunity to disoblige him. With all his estate, and all his rank, and all his good nature, his mind is so weak and his conduct has been for more than twenty years so absurd, that he is very little formidable. But this small trait proves that if anything like a consistent opposition arises his weight will be thrown into the scale.

But there is an appearance of a new movement of the Roman

¹ Lord Edward FitzGerald, who had been cashiered from the army in 1792, was already in the thick of those activities which were to lead to the rebellion of '98 and his own arrest, death and canonisation by patriots.

Catholics. The Speaker has lately been made free of the city. He and the Chancellor are most strenuous opponents of the claims of the Catholics. They have not abated one jot of their eagerness since their forced submission last year. In private they miss no opportunity of expressing or hinting their dislike to the relief then given. They affect to confound the two inconsistent grounds of apprehension from Papists—claims to the landed property under old titles and a connection and concert with the French anarchists.

1795

Jan. 1, Thursday, 35 Albemarle Street.—I now resume this journal.

The last topic, I observe, is the Irish Treasury Board.¹ My labours and anxiety on that subject for a great part of the summer have proved very fruitless, and the new Lord Lieutenant's ² Irish friends, or at least some of most weight among them, expect that he shall give to that Board, not only the check and control which I had held myself bound to promote, but also that originating power and that political discretion which I conceived it to be equally my duty to prevent. I think Lord Fitzwilliam will not intentionally go to that length. If he does he will not faithfully perform that trust which he holds as the King's representative. But he may not understand or foresee the consequences. On the other hand, if he resists, jealousies will arise and very probably a rupture ensue. Neither he nor Lord Milton ³ ever asked me a single question about men or things in Ireland, about the nature of the official business or, in short, about any one point touching the Government they have undertaken. I believe they kept at an equal distance from all information that might have been derived from any one member of the preceding Government except Sir John Parnell.

¹ He had written nothing in his diary since March 6, 1794, when he was still in Dublin. He then dealt at some length with various questions of Irish domestic politics. He was no longer Irish Secretary, having left with Westmorland, who had been recalled on account of his opposition to the Catholic claims which Pitt at this time intended, in some measure at any rate, to recognise.

² Lord Fitzwilliam.

³ George Damer, Viscount Milton, afterwards second Earl of Dorchester, who accompanied Lord Fitzwilliam as Chief Secretary.

I dined to-day at Lord Hardwicke's. He thinks an establishment on a large scale for the Prince of Wales will give disgust in the country. He is always a grumbler, but yet a steady supporter of Mr. Pitt. His brother-in-law, John Eliot (Lord Eliot's second son), dined there. He had gone up with the address from the House of Commons to-day and told us the Speaker was attended by very few members.

I met Lord Ossory this morning. Though one of the new peers,¹ his conversation was not warm towards Ministers. He thought the language in both Houses on Tuesday too warlike and too violent against the present government of Ireland. He says the country is turned against the war—that the secession of Wilberforce and Bankes will have a great effect.²

I observed in the House of Commons on Tuesday, and many near me made the same remark, that Pitt, while he spoke, was very little cheered or encouraged.

I will transcribe here a song of the English Jacobins, a copy of which was found among the papers of one of those who were brought before the Privy Council for examination. It is conjectured to be the production of one Crossfield, a person implicated in the assassination plot charged by one Upton, a watchmaker, against several persons who, according to him, had employed him to make an air-gun and poisoned arrow to be discharged from it at the King when he should go to the play-house. Crossfield is stated to be a man of a great deal of science, and both of an extraordinary mechanical and poetical turn. Mr. Pitt thought the song so good that I saw him copy it the day it was produced at the Council. Crossfield has been in the army, and is now, I believe, either a chemist or physician.

¹ John Fitzpatrick, second Earl of Upper Ossory in the peerage of Ireland, had been created an English peer, as Baron Upper Ossory of Amptill, in 1794.

² On Dec. 30, 1794, the great Abolitionist had moved an amendment to the Address in favour of peace and Henry Bankes had supported him, although they were both, in general, adherents of Pitt.

I.

See Britons, see that rising beam
 The eastern sky adorning,
 'Tis freedom's sun begins to gleam,
 And wakes a glorious morning.
 Now despotism from France is chased,
 And church illusions vanish'd.
 Ne'er let them on our isle be placed,
 But far from Britain banish'd.

Chorus.

Plant, plant the tree, fair freedom's tree,
 Midst danger, wounds, and slaughter.
 Each patriot's breast its soil shall be,
 And tyrants' blood its water.

2.

They come, they come, in myriads come
 From Gallia to invade us ;
 Seize seize the pike, beat beat the drum,
 They come, my friends, to aid us.
 Let trembling despots fly the land,
 To shun impending danger,
 We'll stretch forth a fraternal hand,
 To hail each glorious stranger.
 Plant, plant, etc.

3.

That palace, which, for ages past,
 To despots was appointed,
 The sovereign people claim at last,
 For they're the Lord's anointed.
 The useless crown which long adorned
 The brows of royal ninnies
 To nobler purposes is turned,
 Coin'd into useful guineas.
 Plant, plant, etc.

4.

Those high nicknames, Lord, Duke, and Earl,
 Which set the crowd a-gazing,
 Are prized as hogs esteem a pearl,
 Their patents set a-blazing.

A REVOLUTIONARY SONG

No more they vote away our wealth,
To please a King or Queen, sir,
Now glad to pack away by stealth,
To 'scape the guillotine, sir.

Plant, plant, etc.

5.

Our Commons, too, who say, forsooth,
They represent the nation,
Must scamper east, west, north, and south,
To 'scape our indignation.
Their Speaker's mace to current coin
We presently shall alter,
And ribbands, late so gay and fine,
We'll change, each, to a halter.

Plant, plant, etc.

6.

On holy mummeries our boys
Contemptuously shall trample,
And yonder dome, that props the skies,
Shall turn to Reason's temple.
Then "Ça ira" each choir shall sing
To cheer the broken-hearted,
And priestcraft's bells no more shall ring,
To thundering guns converted.

Plant, plant, etc.

7.

Behold the Bank ! Its spurious trash !
Unworthy our regarding !
Mere paper wealth ! Ideal cash !
Whole pounds not worth a farthing.
The stocks, like vapours on the hills,
Shall vanish from our sight, sir,
And Abraham Newland's¹ swindling bills
May cover paper-mills, sir.

Plant, plant, etc.

¹ He was chief cashier of the Bank of England from 1782 to 1807. His signature appeared on bank-notes, which were in consequence known by his name. The modern analogy is obvious.

8.

Those lawyers see, with face of brass,
And wigs replete with learning,
Whose far-fetch'd apophthegms surpass
Republican discerning,
For them to ancient forms be staunch
To suit such worthy fellows ;
Oh ! spare for them one legal branch ;
I mean, reserve the gallows.
Plant, plant, etc.

9.

'Tis done, the glorious work is done,
Rejoice with one another ;
To ploughshares beat the sword and gun,
For each man is your brother.
Detested war shall ever cease
In kind fraternization.¹

Jan. 9, Friday.—Lord Westmorland arrived at his house (late Mr. Child's) in Berkeley Square, having slept at Salt Hill. He sent an express to me to meet him on his arrival.

His account of the manner in which he was attended to the packet on his departure was very flattering. He immediately went to Pitt's, and, as he afterwards told me, spoke his mind to him very freely, and said he had discredited himself in the eyes of both countries.

Lord Westmorland went this day to the levee and had afterwards a long audience in the Closet.

The King told him that he had determined to break up the Government if the Duke of Portland and his friends had not found a situation for him, for that if he did not stand by those who had been faithful to him, he could not expect that anybody should stand by him. His Majesty further said he thought Douglas had been very ill-used. He was first to have one thing, then another. Once he was to have a place in the West Indies, etc. (I presume this must have been either the Chancellor's or the Duke of Portland's plan—or some suggestion of Dundas's.

¹ *Cetera desunt.*

I had never for a moment the smallest doubt about rejecting any such offer). Lord Westmorland says the King did not now seem to know of anything that was to be done for me. It therefore appears that Pitt has never yet mentioned the ultimate arrangement agreed to by him and *guaranteed* by Dundas.

Dec. 26, Saturday, Seaford.—I came down here yesterday to see my poor niece, Mrs. Gordon, whom I have found in a piteous and melancholy situation, and I shall have to perform one of the most painful duties that can fall to the lot of any man, that of conveying to her father a faithful account of her, as soon as I shall have had some further conversation with her physician, Dr. Blair of Lewis. I called on him yesterday on my way down, and have appointed him to come here to-day

I have of late got rid of a great weight which had remained on my mind, by the very ill success of a speech I made in Parliament soon after I had taken my seat. I had not before spoken in the House of Commons unless once or twice when Thomas Grenville brought in his Bill to amend certain parts of the election judicature. When Mr. Jekyll¹ made his motion concerning the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, I thought it my duty to repel as well as I could the censure, which Jekyll, Fox and others had for the sake of their argument bestowed on Lord Westmorland's Government. I was, I own, glad too of such a very fair opportunity of making an experiment of myself in the English House of Commons.

I was in a manner a new speaker, who is always treated with indulgence. I was from a laudable sentiment undertaking the defence of an administration and of measures which belonged to a period prior to my Secretaryship, so that I had no personal motive. Yet I was heard with decisive marks of disapprobation and impatience. My voice was drowned very early by the cry of "Question—*Question*," repeated with unusual vociferation; and with a great deal of abridgment and all the confusion of

¹ Joseph Jekyll, M.P. for Calne. He was a barrister, who was appointed Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales in 1805 and a Master in Chancery ten years later. He was also well known as a wit, and his pasquinades were published in the Whig papers, the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Evening Statesman*.

mind arising from strong mortification, I found it very difficult to give anything like an appearance of method and regular argument and conclusion to my speech. Not a friend or acquaintance came near me after this circumstance had happened, and men whose good nature or habits lead them to be very fertile in topics of consolation on such occasions did not make any attempt to comfort me.

I believe, indeed, the House as well as the public had become heartily tired of the subject, the Opposition hardly knowing how to treat it. They wished to regain Lord Fitzwilliam, but he was not yet ripe to conviction by them on the heads of the war, French principles, and parliamentary reform, and his conduct had been too manifestly rash and weak to furnish them with plausible grounds for his defence on his proceedings either in Ireland or towards his colleagues in England, or for any very successful attack on the unavoidable measure of his recall. The line, too, which I had thought fit for me to pursue, namely, an enumeration of advantages which Ireland had reaped under the administration of Lord Westmorland, was naturally uninteresting to the great majority of the English House of Commons. All these things are true, but still I am persuaded that if my task was not such as I could expect would in its performance secure much attention or applause, it failed in securing any degree either of the one or the other, and chiefly, I believe, from the awkward and inefficient manner in which I performed it.

This failure left a very strong and very disagreeable impression on my mind, which certainly tended much to unfit me by some more successful effort to recover the ground which I was so conscious I had lost, and which, however, I was determined to attempt. When the two Bills against sedition were in the House, I had prepared myself by a thorough consideration of the subject and of the arguments urged against them. I had a strong conviction of their necessity, and I rose once or twice to speak, but the Speaker on each occasion called to somebody else. On the third reading of the one which passed last in D.C. [House of Commons] I had determined to force a hearing, but I found that Pitt had been informed no debate was intended by Opposition,

and I reluctantly relinquished that only remaining opportunity, although by degrees a debate was engaged which lasted till past eleven.

A few days afterwards (on Monday, 14th Dec.) the House was to take into consideration the second report of the committee which had been appointed to enquire who was the author of the pamphlet ascribed to Mr. Reeves, and Sheridan (who had been chairman of the committee), having made a long diffuse speech, which he concluded by moving that the pamphlet should be burnt, was answered by Dundas, who moved by amendment that the King should be addressed to order the Attorney General to prosecute Reeves as the author or publisher. Jekyll answered Dundas, and I then rose and spoke for nearly an hour, with very tolerable possession of myself and with a very favourable attention from both sides of the House, which happened however to be very thin, many members having gone out of town that very day on the discharge of an order for a call. Fox in answer took notice of several things I had said, and Sheridan in his general reply, with a good deal of parliamentary civility, said it was a great loss that I did not declare my sentiments more frequently in the House. I thanked him privately for this civility, having met him in the House of Lords that evening after ours had adjourned.

The day after William Smith¹ moved for the enquiry concerning the loan, and unnecessarily (though I believe in a manner inadvertently) stated in his speech that in the case of one of Lord North's loans corruption had not only been charged but proved and admitted. The House was very thin. Dundas was the only considerable debater present who had formed part of Lord Guilford's Administration. He told me he should not let Smith's assertion pass unnoticed, and he took occasion in the course of the evening to rise merely to state that what had fallen from Smith was unfounded and had given uneasiness (I was sitting by him), and that he had no doubt that his candour would

¹ At this time M.P. for Camelford, though in earlier and later Parliaments he sat for Sudbury and subsequently for Norwich. A follower of Fox, he was an opponent of the war, but his keenest interest was in the slave question.

induce him to explain by doing justice to Lord Guilford's acknowledged integrity. Fox, I think, rose next, and gave the most ample and unqualified testimony to Lord Guilford's integrity and honour on all occasions and at all times, speaking from long and uniform experience both while they acted together and in opposition to each other. Sheridan then spoke, and after some formal protest that he did not mean to question Lord North's *personal* honesty, chose to describe him as a man chiefly distinguished for good humour, pleasantry, urbanity and conviviality.

I felt very much at the moment, and stood up to deny Smith's charge and challenge him to the proof, and after expressing that I thought Fox's speech did equal honour to his own feelings and the memory of Lord North, and that it was what was to be expected from that generous nature which I had long admired in him still more than his transcendent abilities, I said I confessed I had been a little disappointed at the more scanty, reluctant and restricted commendations of another person who I thought would also have wished to be considered as the friend of Lord Guilford. That he had chosen to speak of him as one chiefly remarkable for certain qualities which undoubtedly he was known to have possessed in a very superior degree, but that he would have considered it as an insult when there arose a question concerning his integrity and moral character to have his superiority in those very secondary qualities enlarged upon, especially as it was well known that *the possession of these qualities had no necessary connection with any distinguished claim to morality and virtue.*

Smith made a very fair and Sheridan (who according to his friends was a little in liquor) a very awkward apologetic explanation.

This speech clearly was heard with much interest and satisfaction by the generality of Members present. I received unequivocal marks of those sentiments, for many kind things were said to me two days afterwards by the Speaker both with regard to this and my other speech, and I heard from him that Pitt had been struck and pleased with the last of them, having

repeated my very words at a dinner two days after. I next day informed Lord Guilford of what had passed, who seemed equally pleased with me and displeased with Sheridan. He observed that Sheridan, having sat twelve years in Parliament with his father, had been in opposition to him the three first and acting with him the other nine.

But my chief satisfaction was in the pleasure which Lady Katherine took in the knowledge of this incident.

The above detail (in itself unimportant) as connected with my feelings and probably with my future conduct concerns one of the most serious circumstances of my life.

Dec. 29, Tuesday, Pheasantry.—Lady Katherine, Fred and I returned to this delightful bird's nest yesterday morning, and she and I went to dine with the Keenes at Richmond. The Ex-évêque de Comminges dined there. He is brother to Monsieur d'Osmond, who married a sister of *le beau* Dillon. Keene looks up to him as a remarkably clever man—much superior to his friends Malouet and Lally. When I came away he said, "That's a man with a very strong head." This surprised Lady Katherine and me, for we agreed that his conversation had given us a very different impression. He is a handsome man, with the air and manners of good company, but we thought superficial, and what in England we call very French. He abused Lally, and said his legitimacy was all a fiction. But, professing himself his enemy, he admitted that he is certainly the son of General Lally and by a gentlewoman, and that he has talents and eloquence, and was very much distinguished at College in the University of Paris, where they were contemporaries.

Keene told us several anecdotes of David Hume. He had known him at Paris where he was Secretary of the Embassy with Lord Hertford, Keene's great patron. He confirmed the general account of the favourable reception of Hume in all the circles of the gay and fashionable company of Paris, and the court paid to him by the beauties, wits and philosophers of both sexes. He says his great *proneuse* was the Countess de Boufflers, who according to Keene had formed the project of persuading the Prince de Conti to declare himself married to her. The Prince

could not overcome the scruples arising from their disparity of rank, but Keene says she hoped Mr. Hume might convince him how much such a prejudice was unworthy of a philosopher. It was through M. de Boufflers that Hume's acquaintance with Rousseau was formed. In our conversation concerning Hume I recollected some traits, which, having never seen them in print, I will mention here. The late Dr. Gregory¹ of Edinburgh told me, many years ago, that he once asked Hume if he should like his sister, his wife or his daughter to be a sceptic like him, when the other answered that he should not, for that he thought scepticism *too sturdy* a virtue for a woman.

On the report that Hume had written some essays in justification of adultery and suicide, it was observed by some *bel esprit* at Edinburgh that his system tended to establish three points, viz. (1) that atheism is our duty to God; (2) adultery our duty to our neighbour; and (3) suicide our duty to ourselves.

Hume on his retiring from the office of Under-Secretary of State had a pension granted him. Some time after Dr. Beattie² had a grant of one, in consequence of the publication of his essay on the *Immutability of Truth*. On this occasion Mr. Wilkes observed that the King had shown great impartiality in bestowing these two pensions, having given one to Hume for writing against Christianity and another to Beattie for answering him.

Some time lately Wilkes dined with or in company with the Prince of Wales, who had made a little free with him and among other things pressed him to sing. He declined, but the Prince insisting, he sung *God save the King*. "How long," says the Prince, "has that been a favourite song with you?" "Ever since I have had the honour of your Royal Highness's acquaintance."

Dec. 31, Thursday, 8 p.m., Pheasantry.—I went to the levee yesterday. The King seemed particularly well. Paoli³ (just

¹ John Gregory, professor of medicine at Edinburgh and author of a *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*.

² James Beattie, now chiefly remembered as the author of *The Minstrel*, wrote several prose works on ethics and religion.

³ Pascal Paoli, the Corsican patriot, is a familiar figure to readers of Boswell. He had come to England for good in 1795 and died there in 1807, at the age of eighty-two.

arrived from Corsica) was there and kissed hands as a subject. The late and new Spanish Ambassadors were there. The Duke of Leeds [?] told me the King had said the Court of Spain had recalled the *valet de chambre* and sent the *maître d'hôtel* in his place. Las Casas is not unlike a fat *maître d'hôtel*, but I think Del Campo rather resembles a Jew pedlar.

Trail told me to-day that in a company where Romilly dined he heard Wilberforce speak very highly of my speech in vindication of Lord North.

1796

Jan. 14, Thursday, Bruton Street.—I went last night to Lord Mendip's,¹ who as usual abounded in conversation. I was the only other man. He is certainly talkative, or rather fluent, but not more so than when I first knew him a good many years ago, and his conversation is accompanied with perfect politeness, and attention to his hearers, when they have their opportunity of being speakers. All his faculties, particularly his memory, seem as perfect as ever, and of late as well as of remote circumstances. He is full of classical and historical recollections, ancient and modern, foreign and domestic, and of anecdotes.

His uncle, Mr. Ellis, was private secretary to King William and lived pretty far on in the reign of George II.² He spoke and wrote Dutch perfectly. King William spoke English very currently, but did not write it with great correctness. He used to write his speeches and some of his letters in Dutch and give them to Mr. Ellis to translate into English. Lord Mendip told me two circumstances which seem to prove, what has been often mentioned, that King William had entertained serious thoughts of retiring from the government of this country. One day he gave Mr. Ellis a Dutch speech (whether addressed

¹ Welbore Ellis, first Lord Mendip, so created in 1794, was born in 1713, and was thus at this date well over eighty. He had been Secretary at War in 1762 and Secretary of State for America twenty years later. Horace Walpole nicknamed him "Fox's Jackal," but the outbreak of the Revolution turned him into a supporter of Pitt.

² John Ellis, who died in 1738 at the age of about ninety-five, does not appear to have been secretary to William III, though by his own account he was a favourite of his and received from him the comptrollership of the Mint in 1701. He was Under-Secretary of State from 1695 to 1705. He was one of the lovers of Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland.

to the Parliament or the Council, Lord Mendip did not mention) declaring *that* intention and his motives, and desired him to carry him the original and the translation, which he did. But he told his nephew that he would find a *brouillon* of the translation among his papers, for which, however, he had searched ineffectually. The other circumstance was this. The King used in the first part of his reign to desire to dine with some of the principal people of the Court, naming the company, of course. He one day appointed one of those dinners at the Earl of Northumberland's, where all the great leaders in the Revolution were invited. After dinner, the King told them that he wished to take that opportunity to inform them that it was his intention to relinquish the crown. That he was accustomed to the laws and habits and government of Holland and knew that he and that nation could go on very well together, but that he found the case quite otherwise in this country. When he had done, the Earl of Devonshire¹ said, "God forbid that your Majesty should carry such an intention into effect. One thing we are all assured of—that you will act in everything in consistency with your high character and your honour, and I will therefore take the liberty to say that *if you leave us, you must leave us as you found us.*" The King immediately changed the discourse.

George II, though he spoke English with a foreign accent, spoke and wrote it as correctly as a native. He read all the drafts of the despatches, and used often to make grammatical as well as other alterations in them.

Lord Mendip went into the city when the news that the Pretender was at Derby arrived. The panic there, he says, was inconceivable. He found it equally great at St. James's, where he went on his return and lounged away all the morning. While he was there one of the servants of the Court came suddenly to order the Council Chamber to be got ready. There had been a Cabinet at Whitehall, where there had been a great difference of sentiment, and the Cabinet had been adjourned to be held in the King's presence at St. James's. He dined that day with one

¹ Afterwards first Duke of Devonshire, one of the chief promoters of the Revolution of 1688.

of the Cabinet who told him as much as it was discreet to divulge, and more, from the sort of agitation and ferment which Ministers felt at that time in common with others. There was a Scotch regiment in the camp at Blackheath and many entertained apprehensions that they might desert to their countrymen. The King was firm and resolute from the first. He says St. James's was crowded like a chocolate house, though in those days nobody was permitted to come even into the outward rooms who was not full-dressed. The panic was soon converted into a very spirited courage and activity which became general.

Mr. Ellis, the uncle, lived from the reign of Charles II in one of the only three houses which were then in Pall Mall. That street was then a real Mall planted on each side with trees and with a turnstile at the narrow part which goes into Cockspur Street. Mr. Ellis latterly removed to one of the other three houses, where he died.

Jan. 18, Bruton Street.—We abridged our intended stay at the Pheasantry that we might be in town when my niece arrived. We had meant to remain there till the second of next month, but we left on Saturday last—the 16th inst. Mrs. Gordon arrived yesterday afternoon, better much beyond my expectation, though by repeated letters from her husband and daughter-in-law I had heard of her improvement.

I am going this morning to have a conversation as necessary as it is disagreeable with Mr. Gordon on the subject of his affairs, his family, and his disputes with Mrs. Gordon. On a review of my own affairs on Friday last, Lady Katherine and I found them in a very uncomfortable situation, and they must continue so till the arrangement stipulated by Government is carried into effect.

The report of Richmond is that the Duke of Clarence has dismissed Mrs. Jordan with a very handsome annuity, much to her satisfaction.¹ She is said to have taken great umbrage at his very marked attentions to Mrs. Horsley this autumn and winter,

¹ The Duke and the actress did not part until 1811, and, so far from an annuity being then forthcoming, their separation was due to the Duke's lack of money.

attentions which have not escaped the observation of that populous and gossiping neighbourhood. The Duke's idle and indiscreet abuse of the war, and the characters and conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, particularly Mr. Pitt, in every promiscuous company, at balls, to women, young officers and boys is a matter of scandal and discomfort ; I believe almost equally to people of all parties and descriptions.

The Prince is much with him, and seems now to be generally understood to be as much in opposition as ever. I hear he speaks of that party as us and we. It was by his express desire that Lord Thurlow and the Duke of Leeds were summoned to Carlton House when the Princess was in labour. The Chancellor (with the Archbishop of Canterbury and others) was there of course. He some time ago turned Anstruther out of his place of Solicitor General, who had taken much pains in preparing and conducting in the House of Commons the Bill for the payment of his debts. The reason surmised for this removal, which could not have taken place if the Prince had been in the least anxious not to do a thing disagreeable to Lord Loughborough, is that Anstruther had on the occasion of the discussions on that subject in Parliament said something which indicated an opinion that the rents and people of the Duchy of Cornwall do not belong to the Prince during his minority. The Prince had instituted a suit to try that question and retained counsel (omitting his Solicitor General) before he dismissed him.

Mr. Gibbs¹ is appointed in his room, a man of eminent learning and abilities, and of very respectable character and sound principles, but who had a little before that time first attracted the general notice of the public by having been, jointly with Erskine, principal advocate for Hardy, Thelwall, Tooke, etc.² This circumstance gives his appointment a strong colour of opposition. Besides, Gibbs's early and intimate friend

¹ Vicary Gibbs (1751-1820), who, after a distinguished career at the Bar, was in turn Solicitor General, Attorney General, Lord Chief Baron and Chief Justice of Common Pleas. He was knighted in 1805.

² Thomas Hardy, the radical bootmaker, John Thelwall and Horne Tooke had been tried for high treason in 1794, but had been acquitted, largely owing to Erskine's able advocacy.

has been Mansfield. They were both collegers at Eton and fellows of King's at Cambridge, and Mansfield, justly out of humour that he was overlooked in the last promotions which were the consequence of Lord Loughborough's appointment to the Seals, is, though far from a democrat or republican, an open censurer of the men and measures of Government.

In short, there are many who do not scruple to say that the Prince connected himself with Government not from the sense he entertained of the interests of his family and of the peace and constitution of the kindgom, which was the avowed and ostensible reason, the *ratio justificativa*, but that he might engage the Ministers in the difficult and unpopular liquidation of his debts ; that he dismissed Mrs. Fitzherbert and proposed to the King his marriage with the Princess of Brunswick as one of the means of attaining the same end, and that having attained that end he has again quitted that ministry who had almost put their situation to the hazard in accomplishing it, and treats with indecent neglect and contempt the person with whom he had sought to unite himself mainly to facilitate his plan. The numberless reports and anecdotes of his manner of behaving to the Princess are no doubt in part invented, and in part much exaggerated. But if the twentieth part of them have any foundation, that is sufficient to fix the highest degree of blame on his conduct, which has the less chance of a very favourable interpretation from the public, as his great female friend and adviser is Lady Jersey, and the only confidential man who remains about him is Tommy Tyrwhitt. Tyrwhitt, I believe, is neither suspected of being able to influence him in any respect, nor, were he able, of the inclination of doing so in any improper manner.

Jan. 23, Saturday, 8 a.m., Bruton Street.—I dined yesterday at Craufurd's. The company was la Princesse d'Huisse[?], le Marquise de Coigny, Madame de Gand, who is in the last stage of a dropsy, Lally, Calonne, Malouet, le Prince de Poix, Madame Fawkener, a Swiss who lives with Craufurd, and myself. It was astonishing to see with what cordiality the two ex-constitutionalists and the ex-minister of the old regimen and of Coblenz took to each other. I had never dined before in com-

pany with Calonne.¹ He had the chief share of the conversation, but not too much of it, for his manner of expressing himself is very engaging. His loquacity and vanity seem to be much softened, and his spirits unbroken. Craufurd's house is but the half of his former magnificent hotel, and the other and worse half has been just let to Sir H. Tempest Vane for £800 a year. He explained to us the grounds on which he founded the assertions in his pamphlet that the population of France in his time was twenty-eight million and the quantity of specie 120 million sterling, and they seemed, upon that sudden statement, not unreasonable. He is to state them in the notes to the new edition of his pamphlet which he is now preparing.

Madame de Coigny read us a letter just received from the Vicomte de Segur (at Paris), the brother of the Feuillant Envoy to Berlin, in which he tells her that he has become, under a feigned name, picture merchant; that he carries on his traffic with considerable success, and consoles himself for the pictures he daily sees by the sale of those in which he deals.

Jan. 25, Monday, Bruton Street.—Lady Katherine told me to-day that her father when dying expressed considerable anxiety on the subject of his character and fame—that he should have wished to know how he stood and would stand with the world. That this might be a weakness, but he could not help it.

In my opinion the love of fame is a principle in our nature like the desire of preserving life—a sort of mental appetite, and that it is the source of the best, most elevated and most useful exertions of the human faculties.

We went to the Pheasantry yesterday and dined at Keene's, where we met the Bishop of Comminges. He had not yet read Calonne's book, but he told me that he doubts very much whether Calonne is so poor as he gives out. He thinks it is a game he plays to give out that he has ruined himself by lending money to the French princes, and that he has met from them with nothing but ingratitude. I told him I thought that his

¹ Charles Alexandre de Calonne, Controller General from 1783 to 1787. After his dismissal, which was forced on Louis XVI by the Notables, he came to England.

having sold both his houses in this country, his fine collection of pictures, and his books were strong marks of real distress; he agreed, but said he could tell me very strong reasons for not believing that he had ruined himself for the princes. That *he* (the Bishop) has a connection with a young man who has been employed in the different bureaux of or for the service of the princes and that he had, to satisfy himself on Calonne's debt from them, set this young man on making an examination in the different bureaux on this subject and that he had found a liquidated account, stated by Calonne himself up to the end of 1792, since when his connection with the princes had ceased. That this stated account consisted of about 500,000 livres, and a blank sum for expenses of travelling, that he had in this account taken credit for all the acceptances he had come under, whether paid or not, and the Comte de Provence had ratified the whole and had filled up the blank so as to make the gross sum 600,000 livres—or about £24,000, a sum which is inconsiderable compared to the whole of Monsieur and Madame de Calonne's supposed fortune.

This is Fox's birthday and there are, I understand, various meetings at different taverns for its celebration, particularly two very numerous—one at the *Crown and Anchor* and another at the *London Tavern*. The Lord Mayor also happens to give a ball and supper to-night at the Mansion House. If the companies meet there may be a riot. Fox is to-day, I believe, forty-eight.¹

Jan. 26, Tuesday, Bruton Street.—There appears to have been no riot.

There have been many reports of late at Richmond that the Duke of Clarence and Mrs. Jordan were about to separate on account of a supposed attachment to Mrs. Horsley, the widow of a brother of the Bishop of Rochester. These reports, and of circumstances of jealousy discovered by Mrs. Jordan, have within the last week spread to London, and the following anecdote is mentioned. At the last ball given by Lady Darell about a fortnight ago, at which the Prince of Wales was present and, as usual, the Duke of Clarence and the family of the Stadtholder,

¹ He was forty-seven.

Mrs. Jordan came into the orchestra (which is in a gallery overlooking the ball-room) muffled up and with a long close veil over her face. There she became an eye-witness of the attentions of her lover to Mrs. Horsley, and was so much piqued as to send out for him and declare that she was determined to separate from him that very night. She accordingly set off immediately for London. But the Duke followed her the next day and the matter was made up for the present. It is said his former mistress, Polly Finch, quitted him because she could not persevere in hearing him read the *Lives of the Admirals*. She had borne this through one half of the work, but, finding that as much more remained, her patience sank under it, and a quarrel and separation ensued.

If there is any foundation for the story of Mrs. Horsley, more than mere general attention and coquetry on both sides, she probably will not put herself on the footing of Mrs. Jordan or Miss Finch. She is too proud and too independent. Her husband left her £2,000 a year and £40,000 in money. If she connect herself with him it will probably be on the footing of a *de facto* marriage, such as has been supposed to have taken place between the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, and such as did actually take place between Lady Augusta Murray and Prince Augustus.¹ How much all these things overcloud the prospect of the future history of the succession in this kingdom and augment the risks to which the reigning dynasty as well as the very monarchy itself are exposed.

Jan. 29, Friday, 11 p.m., Bruton Street.—The Chancellor told me yesterday at Court the following anecdotes of Madame de Fontenay, or Tallien, which he had from Monsieur Dupont,² the translator of Burke's book on the French Revolution.

¹ Prince Augustus Frederick, the King's sixth son, who was created Duke of Sussex in 1801. He married Lady Augusta Murray (daughter of the fourth Earl of Dunmore) in 1793, but in the following year the marriage was declared void under the Royal Marriage Act. In 1806 Lady Augusta took the name of D'Ameland in lieu of Murray. She will figure again in these pages.

² *N.B.*—Monsieur Dupont has within these few months procured leave to return to Paris by the interest of Madame Tallien and is married there.—25th December, 1796.—G.

She is the daughter of an eminent Spanish merchant at Paris named Cabarrus. Dupont, a young *Conseiller au Parlement*, was to have married her, in consequence of an arrangement formed for that purpose between the families. Dupont's affections were otherwise engaged, but not having the courage to acknowledge this to his father he resolved to make Mademoiselle Cabarrus herself his confidant and to ask her advice and assistance. She told him though she had no engagement of a similar sort, and did not dislike him, she would not stand in the way of his happiness and would take the rupture of their intended marriage on herself. She accordingly told her father that she had an insurmountable repugnance to the match he had intended for her. On this the affair was broken off, and she afterwards married Monsieur de Fontenay, also of the robe. Dupont continued his acquaintance and friendship with her, but from his large knowledge of her disposition was persuaded, when the Revolution took place, that she would act some remarkable part—not from republican or revolutionary principles but from a love of celebrity. During the Constituent Assembly there was an established connection and attachment between her and Charles Lameth, one of the chief leaders at first of the popular and afterwards of the *Feuillant*, *Modéré* or *Monarchien* party. On the new Revolution, Tallien having been sent *Commissaire de la Convention* to Bordeaux to suppress the Federalists and Brissotins, he found Madame de Fontenay there and fell in love with her. It seems he is young and handsome. Dupont represents her also as handsome, though like Madame de Staël, but extremely *en beau*. It happened that both Dupont, her first intended husband, and de Fontenay were then under confinement and in daily hazard of the guillotine. Madame de Fontenay made it an absolute condition of her consenting to live with Tallien that he should procure the liberty of both and furnish them with passports to enable them to come over to England, which he accordingly did, and they are now both in this country and indebted to her for their safety. A Madame de Gage, now in England, applied to her at Bordeaux for a passport. “*Vous êtes Aristocrate, Madame,*”

said Madame de Fontenay to her. "*Je l'avoue,*" answered she. "*Hé bien ! et moi aussi, mais j'aime Tallien.*" She gave her a passport. Monsieur Tallien has since acknowledged her as his wife.¹

Mr. Charles Townshend called here on Wednesday evening. He told me that Lord Walpole, who is his neighbour in the country, is possessed of eight or nine large boxes of dispatches of Mr. Horace Walpole,² Sir Robert's brother, when he was Ambassador in France, which he has perused, and which he says contain many curious circumstances relative to the affairs and politics of France in the time of the Regent and of the Duc de Bourbon and the Cardinal Fleury's administration. It seems in the struggle for power between the Duc de Bourbon and the Cardinal (then only Bishop of Fréjus) the latter had once been ordered not to assist at the transacting of business between the King and Monsieur de Bourbon, which he had been accustomed to do, on which he retired immediately to a country house in disgust and as it seemed in disgrace. The next day Mr. Walpole went to see him and was the only foreign Minister who did. On his re-establishment in favour, which happened almost immediately, he was so much gratified by Mr. Walpole's attention to him while in eclipse that he treated him ever after with great confidence and intimacy. It appears by those dispatches that the Duke of Bourbon had proposed (after the Infanta was sent back) that a daughter of George the First³ should be demanded of the Court of [England] as a wife for the young King, whom they were extremely anxious to marry immediately. This proposition was opposed by the Cardinal as what might lead to great inconvenience both in France and England. In England, though it was proposed that the Princess should marry a very great sovereign, he foresaw that such a

¹ He was subsequently divorced from her and she married the Prince de Chimay.

² "Old" Horace, first Lord Walpole of Wolterton, who was British Ambassador to Paris from 1723 to 1730.

³ No doubt George II is meant. The only daughter of George I, Sophia Dorothy, had been married to the Crown Prince, afterwards King Frederick William III, of Prussia in 1706.

contravention of the established laws by a family who had been called to the throne to support the Protestant faith would give great discontent, and, if she should become heir to the crown, a disputed succession would be the probable consequence. This, I believe, was the Princess who afterwards married the Prince of Orange.¹ Mr. Townshend has copies of some of those dispatches and has promised to show them to me.

Mrs. Horsley has expressed her surprise and vexation to the Anguishes at the report concerning her, and says she intends to part with her house at Richmond and go abroad.

Everything was gloomy at Court yesterday. The wreck of the *Dutton*, and the probable return of Admiral Christian² and total failure of the great armada to the West Indies occasioned a general damp on every countenance.

Jan. 31, Sunday, 8 a.m., Bruton Street.—I heard yesterday the following singular circumstance of Lady Pitt, the wife of General Sir William Pitt and one of the sisters of Lord Howe. It seems she was engaged to marry Sir G. Armitage, to whom she was much attached. He died before the match could take place and left her £500 for the purpose of buying a diamond necklace. She bought the necklace, but immediately covered it with black silk and has ever since worn it in that manner.

Poor Lady Augusta Murray,³ the pretended wife of Prince Augustus and mother of a child by him, is lately dead of a consumptive disorder brought on or aggravated, it is said, by the misery of her situation. It seems out of his allowance of £4,000 a year he used to give her a considerable portion. This was discovered, his allowance stopped, except a small sum for pocket-money, and the charge of furnishing him with all expenses supposed necessary undertaken by another person.

¹ Anne, Princess Royal, eldest daughter of George II, was married to William, Prince of Orange, in 1734.

² Rear-Admiral Sir Hugh Cloberry Christian, who had been appointed commander-in-chief in the West Indies, had twice, in November and December, set out for his destination, and on both occasions the squadron and its convoy had been so damaged by storm that he had had to put back. He did not get to Barbados until the end of April.

³ This proved a false report. She is now alive (12th Oct., 1796), and is, I believe, allowed a pension.—G.

Feb. 29, Monday.—Debrett has written to me to request that I would let him have a note of my speech on the loan,¹ which I mean to send him, though it will be a great trouble to make it out, as I had committed no part of it, not even the heads, to writing. I have received many marks of the general approbation of this speech.

March 11, Friday.—I was with Mr. Pitt this morning by appointment. Some time ago he had desired Mr. Rose² to let me know that Sir Francis Basset³ was willing to bring me in next Parliament for Penryn, I paying the expenses of the election, which might be from £15 to £18,000.⁴ I told Rose that I understood that on the result of the arrangement when Lord Fitzwilliam went to Ireland, I was to have a gratis seat and that I wished to refer to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas's recollection on that subject. That besides I could not really afford to pay such a sum, and yet that he must feel, from the line I had taken, that I must be in Parliament. I begged him to state this to Mr. Pitt, which he promised to do.

Having heard nothing further from him, I last night desired this interview with Mr. Pitt and took occasion to state to him all my situation. I told him that I understood I was to have a gratis seat; that I could not afford to pay, and yet could not with consistency or propriety be out of Parliament; that if I had had the appointment of Lord of Treasury on my ceasing to be Secretary for Ireland, I should already have received the amount mentioned for the seat for Penryn, etc. He said he had really understood that the seat engaged for did not go beyond this Parliament, but that as I understood it otherwise, he would not rely on his recollection and understanding; that the number of seats to which Government can recommend, without expense, is wonderfully reduced; that he really was not aware of above three (Rose had said the same thing), and that there are engage-

¹ Made in the House on Feb. 26, and "very well received with much cheering from the Treasury Bench."

² George Rose, secretary to the Treasury.

³ Afterwards Lord Basset of Stratton. He did much to develop tin mining in Cornwall, and wrote on agriculture and political subjects.

⁴ It seems more probable that the figure should be £1,800.

ments previous to mine. He said he was sorry, and he owned surprised to find my pecuniary situation such as I had told him. I had mentioned that though the Irish Secretaryship had been unusually profitable in my year, that from having two establishments, and perhaps want of sufficient attention, I had not saved anything, and that last year, not having received yet any part of my pension, I had been living on the little money I had in the stocks which I had been forced to sell out. He said he had supposed by being so long in England I must have saved a good deal while Secretary. I am persuaded this has been a general notion and mistake. His conversation was extremely liberal and cordial. He said he was obliged to me for my frankness, and concluded by saying that I should certainly have a seat—and from the beginning of the Parliament—and that he would contrive that it should be one of the cheapest that possibly could be obtained.

He then expressed his regret that no opening had yet occurred of a place at the Treasury or some equivalent, and hoped that would soon happen.

He said he felt himself obliged to me for the active share I had taken with regard to the loan ¹ and wished for my assistance in the Poor and Labour Bill which he has much at heart, and in opening which, in answer to Whitbread's speech on the second reading of his Bill for fixing a *minimum* for the wages of labourers, he had delivered the finest discourse on the great principles of public economy I ever heard.

He promised to speak to the King to name me of the Committee of Trade.

March 17, Thursday.—I was this day appointed by an order of the King in Council to be “a Member of the Committee of Council for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.”

March 27, Sunday, Pheasantry.—We came here on Thursday for the holidays, and Lady Margaret came yesterday to pass a few days with us. Everybody knows what an accomplished

¹ In Dec., 1795, he had been placed on the committee to enquire into the negotiation of the loan of that year.

person she is, but the solidity and soundness of her understanding are as uncommon as her talents and accomplishments. Yet from some fatality, or more probably some defect or other of judgment in those who had the conduct of her and her sister Lady Anne when young, and in themselves since, they have not appeared in a dignified or respectable light in society.¹ Lady Anne is the more bustling and active of the two, and long passed for the head-piece, as the vulgar phrase is. But though she is quick and sensible, she has not the twentieth part of Lady Margaret's parts or judgment. They are both inveterate jobbers in all ways. One way is the buying or renting houses, furnishing them with second-hand furniture pieced and patched and sorted by themselves to look fashionable, or what is called *tasty*, and then letting them. Mrs. Scott said the other day, "she wished to God those two very agreeable women would leave off being upholsterers and begin to be women of fashion." Lady Anne's language is a frank, vulgar sort of half-Scotch. Lady Margaret is quiet, gentle, elegant, in everything she says and does. Her voice is extremely sweet in speaking and in singing. She is a great mistress of music and plays with great taste on the harpsichord, excels in all sorts of lady's work and painting, and is a very good French, Italian and German scholar. They are both extremely friendly.

Some years ago I showed Lady Margaret Bürger's *Leonore*. She was delighted with it and made a translation in nearly the same measure, which she never would show us till last autumn when she gave me a copy of it. About two months ago Mr. Stanley published a translation, and Mr. William Spencer has advertised one with prints from drawings by his aunt, Lady Diana Beauclerk.² Stanley's is very much inferior to Lady Margaret's and from parts of Spencer's which I have heard

¹ Lady Margaret Fordyce and Lady Anne Barnard were the daughters of the fifth Earl of Balcarres. The latter is famous as the author of *Auld Robin Gray*. She has lately been made the subject of a very excellent book, *Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope*, by Dorothea Fairbridge.

² Lady Margaret's translation does not appear to have been published. Spencer's, with the illustrations, appeared in 1796.

repeated by Sir Henry Englefield, that also is much less true to the singular turn and spirit of the original. Lady Margaret has contrived hers that it may be read either according to the English or Scotch dialect, but it is better in the Scotch. I may perhaps transcribe it into this journal. She has made a translation of Haller's *Doris* which she is to show me to-day. Though Lord Guilford had neglected the German since his travels and studies at Leyden, he knew that poem by heart and used to repeat it sometimes. He had a great memory in general, but particularly for poetry, foreign and English, ancient and modern. Whatever passage in any part of Horace you could mention he would go on with to the end of the epistle, satire or ode.

We have had a track of near three weeks of dry easterly winds. Yesterday the wind turned to north-west and in the evening almost westerly, with some gentle rain. This morning at seven, when I rose, it was north-west and mild, raining a little. In half an hour it veered to the north, grew very sharp, and began to snow and now (at half-past eight) it continues a heavy fall of snow and the ground is quite white.

Sept. 5, Monday.—It was finally settled on Friday last that I should go to the Cape of Good Hope.¹ The persons I consulted with were Lady Katherine, Mr. Trail, Mr. John Sullivan, Lord Guilford and Mr. Benjamin Langlois.

I lost my first political friend, I ought to say patron, in Lord Mansfield, the day before this final arrangement, his Lordship having died at Brighton on Thursday, the 1st of September.

He seems to have died of a gradual decay from mere old age though premature, for he was but sixty-eight, as his friend, Lord Guilford, had done four years ago at the earlier age of only sixty.

I heard yesterday a stray anecdote of a foundling left about four years ago at Sir Charles Grey's under very mysterious circumstances. The Duchess of Devonshire was at that time abroad. Since her return about three years ago she has often visited the child, and been with it for hours at a time. For two

¹ As Governor. As will appear, he did not go, either now or later, though he was three times offered, and twice accepted the appointment.

or three years Charles Grey was particularly attentive to the Duchess, and as the dates agree, the scandalous inference had been drawn. It was the Duchess of Leeds who told the story to Lady Katherine.¹

At a ball at the *Castle Inn*, Richmond, about a fortnight ago, on the Duke of Clarence's birthday, the Duke of Clarence said to Mrs. Sutton of Molesey, "My brother (Prince of Wales) has behaved very foolishly. To be sure he has married a very foolish, disagreeable person, but he should not have treated her as he has done, but have made the best of a bad bargain, as my father has done. He married a disagreeable woman but has not behaved ill to her. What do you think, Madam?"

In the same conversation he said, "Mrs. Jordan is a very good creature, very domestic and careful of the children. To be sure she is absurd sometimes, and has her humours. But there are such things more or less in all families. I daresay you and Mr. Sutton have your little disputes. To be sure she made a strange, foolish business last summer (relative to her jealousy of a Mrs. Horsley), but then she repented and was sorry for it. You heard of it, I daresay." Mrs. Sutton told this to Lady Katherine next day. To Lady Katherine, with whom he danced and who complained that she was not so active as formerly, he had said, "Ay, Ma'am, you and I have families, and that brings care and trouble with it."

Oct. 7, 10 p.m., *Bruton Street*.—The plan of my going to the Cape is at an end, and I am at last, I suppose, to be a Lord of the Treasury.

I hesitated, but Trail thought the Treasury and home were beyond a question preferable to all the Cape advantages. I could not but know Lady Katherine's feelings, and Fred had been ill at Bushey (where his mother also then was) from *the extraordinary heat of the weather*. I therefore set out immediately with Trail for Bushey and, after showing to Lady Katherine Dundas's letter, told her I was determined to stay.

¹ This story may not be correct, but it is true that Grey, whom history knows as the reformer of Parliament, had a daughter by Duchess Georgiana. See the *Correspondence of Lord Granville Leveson-Gower*.

She had been very stout while the voyage and separation from her friends seemed certain, but she could not restrain a burst of tears of joy and affection when I informed her, in her mother's house and in the room adjoining to where her sisters and Fred were, that I had made my choice. We went to town next day (Sept. 20) and in a day or two afterwards I learnt from Farquhar¹ that both he and Dr. Gillam had begun to doubt whether they could permit either Lady Katherine or Fred to go. I certainly should not have gone without them.

On Wednesday last I sat at dinner at the Chancellor of the Exchequer's between Canning and Lord Mornington and Ryder was opposite. They talked a good deal, the two former particularly, chiefly in quizzing the Master of the Rolls,² who was near Ryder. It is an odd footing he seems to be on in Pitt's set. They appear to like him much both for his good-humour and his humour which is very pleasant, but they treat him a great deal too much as a buffoon, or something approaching to that character, and Mr. Pitt, who has given such substantial proof of his real friendship for him, does so as much at least as any of the others. I remember making the same remark at a dinner at Tom Ord's in the year 1782, when Pitt was first Chancellor of the Exchequer and when he and Arden, who I think was Solicitor-General, were of the company and also Lord Apsley (now Lord Bathurst) who is a famous *quizzier*. I amused myself in thinking of a scale of parts and abilities for several of the company and I classed the three I have mentioned Canning first, Mornington second, Ryder—*magno intervallo*—third. Yet in the political race I would bet on Ryder. His rank and fortune and the having from those advantages started higher, or at least passed so much sooner from Canning's office than he is likely to do, make his chance much better than Canning's. Besides he seems steadier and more business-like. Pitt seems to like him, and so does Lord Liverpool. Pitt seems also to like Canning, but I should think him less calculated to please the other. Lord Mornington's ill-health and perhaps the circum-

¹ Sir Walter Farquhar, physician in ordinary to the Prince of Wales.

² Richard Pepper Arden, created Lord Alvanley.

stance of his marriage¹ may be lasting drawbacks to him. I hope he is, however, at this moment on the eve of advancement. I should hope it on his own account, but I likewise hope it on mine, as it is probably his seat I am to have at the Treasury Board.²

The *unanimous* address on Wednesday on the King's speech is not a common thing, and will tell abroad, perhaps as much as a victory on the Rhine or even in the Tyrol. Pitt's tirade on the lessons of adversity, in answer to Fox's wish that it might teach us moderation, was very eloquent in the highest sort of eloquence. Lord Mornington said he thought it had so much of the *δεινότης* of Demosthenes, that he at first imagined he had some passage from his orations in view. The concluding part of Lord Guilford's speech in the Lords, which I heard, was in a good manner. The ground-work seemed to be the same with Fox's.

I dined to-day with the Barnards and Lady Anne, at a sort of Cape dinner given to Dundas and Lord Macartney.³ Lady Margaret tells me she has applied to succeed Lady Dashwood (who died yesterday) as governess to the Prince of Wales's child. Lady Anne has written to the Prince assuring him on her honour that Lady Margaret is not *intrigante* or meddler, and Lady Hardwicke⁴ has written to the Queen. They seem to think

¹ He had had several children by his wife, a Frenchwoman, before his marriage to her; after which ceremony he did not long live with her.

² The three men whom Glenbervie here compares were all of them on the threshold of distinguished, and two of them of brilliant, careers. Dudley Ryder, who succeeded his father as second Lord Harrowby in 1803 and was created Earl of Harrowby in 1809, went to the Foreign Office when Pitt returned to power, after the Addington *interregnum*, in 1804. His health proving unequal to so arduous an office, he was given the Duchy of Lancaster and sent on a diplomatic mission to the Allied capitals. In 1809 he became President of the Board of Control and throughout Liverpool's long administration he was Lord President of the Council. Lord Mornington, better known as Marquess Wellesley, was, as Glenbervie surmised, "on the eve of advancement." In 1797 began his notable government of India.

³ Lord Macartney, and not Glenbervie, had been appointed Governor of the Cape, with Andrew Barnard, Lady Anne's husband, as his secretary.

⁴ Younger sister to Lady Margaret and Lady Anne.

that the Princess will have little to say and Lady Jersey a great deal. Lady Margaret has never had any quarrel nor any intimacy with Lady Jersey. But Lady Hardwicke thinks she may be jealous of her. She is certainly much handsomer, at least as clever, less prudish, but I believe fully as good as Madame de Maintenon, and Lady Jersey is not a Madame de Montespan that with the Prince she has the advantage of being older. I forget what Madame de Maintenon's age was. Lady Margaret said Lady Jersey's reign will not last for ever, for that nobody could think of a mistress of half a century—especially against a wife of twenty-five. I agreed in the probability of the first part of the position, but said I had no idea of his ever going to the Princess.

Oct. 9, Sunday, 11 p.m., Pheasantry.—Mr. Williams dined at Bushey Park to-day, and a Mr. Foster who came lately with dispatches from Corsica. Lord Orford and the Miss Berrys came in the evening.¹ After dinner I learned from Mr. Williams certain particulars relative to Lord Guilford and the suppositions concerning Junius which I have put down among my collections for his Lordship's life.

Lord Orford is so lame as to be carried in and out by his footmen, but when seated was particularly cheerful and, as usual, full of anecdotes. He gave us this history of Law's duel, not as gospel, but merely as the current story at the time—a story the more, as he said, to be questioned, because one similar to it is told of Sir William Temple's father and the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, the consequence of whose love for the father was said to be the birth of the Grand Duke Cosmo, who used to call Sir William brother. The story of Law's duel is this.²

¹ Horace Walpole, who in 1791, at the age of seventy-four, had succeeded his nephew as fourth Earl of Orford. He was now within five months of the end of his long, frivolous and admirable life.

The two Miss Berrys, Agnes and Mary, were the chosen companions of the dilettante's latter years. He left them Little Strawberry Hill and made them his literary executors.

² John Law of Lauriston, the famous financier. The duel took place in 1694 and the victim was Edward Wilson, known as "Beau" Wilson. The story as told here appeared first in the second edition (1708) of the English translation of Madame d'Aulnoy's *Memoirs of the Court of*

A remarkably handsome young man of those days had been seen asleep under a tree in Kensington Gardens. That evening he received a message to tell him that if he would follow the guide sent to him he would meet with an adventure, probably agreeable, and much to his advantage. He did, and through secret ways and passages was brought in the dusk into a bed-chamber in which he passed the night with a lady who paid him very liberally and made an early new appointment. The intercourse continued, perhaps agreeably to both, certainly profitable to him, as it enabled him to live at great expense. But he was told from the first that though the lady would perhaps often see him in company (which she did), he must not attempt to find her out. That the instant he should come to know who she was he would certainly be put to death. He had found that the lady wore a particular ring on her finger even in the night, which he knew very well by the touch. One day at the play he sat near a lady on whose finger he perceived that very ring, and had the indiscretion, at their next meeting, to let her know that he had discovered her. The day after, on some pretext, he received a challenge from Law, then a gambler and adventurer about London, and was killed. Law fled the country and retired to France. But vide *Dict. Hist.* 8vo, in nine volumes, where it is said Law had debauched the gentleman's sister, whom (on receiving a challenge from him on that account) he killed in a duel and was tried but escaped.

Lord Orford says when he first knew the Duchess of Queensberry¹ she was forty, and he did not think her handsome, or that she had much the appearance of having been so. At seventy she came into a room where he was, dressed in a pink gown and a neat cap and with so fresh and clear a complexion and such bright eyes as quite surprised him. He had not seen

England, where Walpole had probably read it. There the lady is said to have been Elizabeth Villiers, afterwards Countess of Orkney, William III's mistress.

¹ The Duchess was notable alike for her beauty and for her idiosyncracies. When she was still Lady Kitty Hyde, and in her teens, Prior made an exploit of hers the subject of a very charming poem, *The Female Phaeton*, to which, nearly sixty years later, Walpole added a stanza which became as famous as the original poem.

her before for some years. The first anecdote for which he had heard her mentioned was that when quite a girl she came into the parlour one Sunday at Petersham dressed to go to church, having taken particular pains and been as she thought very successful in her girlish Sunday's toilette. The mother, who was not handsome and perhaps (his Lordship said) did not quite like to see her look so pretty, said, "Lord, child, what a fright you have made yourself, come here," and then took her cap and twisted it about on her head to show her how it ought to sit. She went out of the room but instead of going back to her dressing-room to readjust her head dress went to church just as her mother had arranged her. On her return Lady Rochester, who had not been to church, was a great deal surprised to see her cap quite awry. "Lord, child, you have not been at church in that state!" "Certainly, Ma'am, you put my cap so, and I thought I must not alter it." Mr. Williams gives this early trait concerning her (the Duchess of Queensberry). She was going along the Strand in the chariot with her mother when the line they were in stopped by the crossing of a cart, which turning down the street passed their carriage before it had begun again to move. The carman was sitting in the cart, with a pipe which he had been smoking. As he passed he looked into the carriage and full in the face of Lady Kitty Hyde, and after a moment said, "My dear, my pipe is gone out, pray lend me those eyes of yours to light it again." She told this herself (I suppose from Lord Orford's idea of the mother, *she* did not) when they came home. A Frenchman might think this *digne d'un caractère de Paris*, and those who think everything refined and polite prevailed in Athens even among the lowest ranks would say it was worthy of Athens.

From the Duchess of Queensberry Lord Orford turned the conversation to her [cousin], the mad Earl (as he called him).¹ I remember Lord Guilford told me once a great deal of his history which corresponded with what Lord Orford now mentioned. He was a clever man. His great insanity was dressing

¹ Edward Hyde, third Earl of Clarendon, Governor of New York and New Jersey (as Viscount Cornbury) from 1701 to 1708.

himself as a woman. Lord Orford says that when Governor in America he opened the Assembly dressed in that fashion. When some of those about him remonstrated, his reply was, "You are very stupid not to see the propriety of it. In this place and particularly on this occasion I represent a woman (Queen Anne) and ought in all respects to represent her as faithfully as I can." Mr. Williams says his father (Peere Williams,¹ Lady Katherine's great-grandfather) has told him that he has done business with him in woman's clothes. He used to sit at the open window so dressed, to the great amusement of the neighbours. He employed always the most fashionable milliner, shoemaker, stay-maker, etc. Mr. Williams has seen a picture of him at Sir Herbert Packington's in Worcestershire, in a gown, stays, tucker, long ruffles, cap, etc.

Lord Orford mentioned that Mr. Secretary Craggs's father had been a footman,² and had the good sense and manliness never to be ashamed of it. He had one day called on a person, I think a Sir H. Moore, who was in the same predicament, but proud and ashamed of his original condition. After they had finished their business, in the course of which Moore had given himself great airs, which Craggs had received with great humility, Moore was to carry him somewhere in his chariot. Craggs getting his foot on the step looked back and said to the other, "I am constantly near mistaking and getting up behind, *are not you?*" There are not many persons who being parvenus have not the meanness (always ineffectual) to wish to conceal their original meanness.

Colonel White in Parliament, turning to a person who was telling another while he was speaking that he had been a drayman,³ looked round at him with contempt and then continued, "Mr. Speaker, I hear a gentleman say that I was a drayman. I was. I own it, and I will do the gentleman the

¹ William Peere Williams (1664-1736), law reporter.

² "His early career is involved in considerable obscurity, and though the assertion that he commenced life as a barber is probably untrue, it is quite likely that his earlier occupations were not of the very highest character."—D.N.B.

³ Some labouring business.—G.

justice to believe that he never was. If he had, he would be a drayman still."

Craggs's father outlived his son but only a little while. He shot himself,¹ probably because he was involved in the intended confiscation of the South Sea, and wished to save the money he had got to his children. Lord Orford's father told him that he had called upon him a little time before his death and left him with a strong impression that he intended to kill himself. The son died of the smallpox and left no children, and therefore on the father's death this epitaph was made upon him by Mr. Neave, an antiquary and herald.

Here lies the first of his family
Who died before [? after] the last.

Secretary Craggs was very handsome. He was told on coming into life that if he had three requisites besides his looks he would make his way with the fair sex. The requisites were: "vigour, generosity and secrecy." He said he thought he was gifted with the two first, but would not answer for the third. He was very successful without it, as appears sufficiently by one instance. The Duchess of Montagu, daughter to the Duke of Marlborough, was violently attached to him. The Duchess of Montagu lived in Great Russell Street. She used to walk in her riding-hood from thence to Craggs who lived in Jermyn Street in the house, now Grenier's Hotel, where he died. She said to her husband, "Now there is not a *man* worth living for left." On which he is said to have kicked her downstairs and put out her hips. They certainly quarrelled and separated. She went to Paris and used to walk about the fields there in weeds. She and the Duke, however, were afterwards reconciled and came together again. Lord Orford told us these anecdotes of Craggs the same evening.

Oct. 12, Wednesday, 6 p.m., Bruton Street.—On Monday I took an alarm not without reason, from a conversation with Pitt on coming out of D.C. [House of Commons]. I asked him if he had a word to say to me. He said, "Really no, that the

¹ He is variously stated to have taken poison and to have died of "a lethargick fit."

arrangement he had proposed had most surprisingly failed.” “But is not my Treasury certain, or am I still to go to the Cape?” “Oh, it is still certain.” “But you do not seem to recollect its being *immediate* is *essential* to me.” “That does *not depend on me*.” I went home (Lady Katherine in the country) and meditated, and determined to do nothing till I had consulted my pillow.

Early in the morning I went to Dundas at Wimbledon and stated my claims and disappointments till he grew certainly sometimes red and sometimes pale. He acknowledged the hardness of my case. I said, the injustice of it. I drove him from the hackneyed ministerial slang—of wishes, consulting the red book, etc. I put my case, not on favoured claims from talent, parliamentary interest, personal rights of any nature except positive engagement. That Pitt was bound by everything that could bind a man. That he, Dundas, as a man must feel it. That I did not and could not believe that a First Lord of the Treasury could not make an arrangement to vacate a seat at his own Board. *That the world would not believe it*. That he *must* do it. That he (Dundas) must make him do it. I fixed him. He was long before answering. At last he got up and said he would tell Pitt that morning what I had said, and would see me as to-day. I saw him at Court and he there said, “It is to be done immediately.” I asked how. He said, “You know what was to have been the arrangement. Lord Liverpool Privy Seal, Windham Chancellor of the Duchy, Steele Secretary at War, Mornington Joint Paymaster, yourself the Treasury.” That it failed because Lord Liverpool¹ preferred the Duchy as the more lucrative place, though less honourable. But that now Pitt had determined to tell the King that he must write to Lord Liverpool that it was essential he should accept, for that the promotion of various good friends of Government was behind his and could not be stopped. Lord Liverpool was at Court and looked very out of humour. At a Council held afterwards at

¹ Charles Jenkinson, created Lord Hawkesbury in 1786 and Earl of Liverpool in 1796, had been Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster since 1786.

his office, which I attended, on some embargo question, he sitting on one side at the head of the table and the President (Lord Chatham) at the other, he said, "Here we seem like two Kings of Brentford."

The King was very gracious to me to-day. *C'est la seconde fois de sa vie.*

Mr. Pitt has lately made several alterations in the house in Downing Street. That house had belonged to Bodmar the Hanoverian Minister. Sir Robert Walpole was the first Chancellor of Exchequer who lived in it. It was bought (as the King intended) for him, but he desired it might be attached to the office. I had this the other night from his son. It was four years fitting up and furnishing. When he got into it he was saying to — [sic] in D.C. [House of Commons] that it was just finished; on which the other answered, "If you have furnished it as well as you have done this you have a chance of keeping it seven years." He did keep it just seven years.

At Court to-day the King was very gracious to me. He talked of Fox's speech on Monday last at the anniversary of his election as given in the newspapers, etc. Lord Liverpool walked about the lawn, and went away early. Lord Chancellor was reserved to me as usual of late. The Duke of Fitzjames was at Court and the Duke of Devonshire.

I understand from Dundas that the Duke of York is not comfortable with Windham, and wishes him Secretary at War. Therefore his interest with the King and Lord Mornington, Steele's with Pitt, are co-operating with the sense of the justice due to me. It remains to be seen whether Lord Liverpool will yield to those joint causes.

Oct. 13, Thursday, 7.30 p.m., Bruton Street.—Lord Macartney was at Court yesterday. He says he is ready and has got an establishment of servants ready, who are very cumbersome to him. Either he is very close or does not know that Dundas thinks of giving the Cape up to the East India Company. I imagine this is a very unwilling sacrifice by Dundas. His sanguine temper has, I believe, in some degree led him to think that the progress of the Cape as an English settlement may be

very rapid, and acquire such magnitude even in his time as to compensate to him the loss of power and patronage in the West Indies. I believe he is shorn of his beams even in Scotland. I know from himself that he used strong efforts to prevent the Duke of Portland from making Cullen a judge, but failed. However, his thorough knowledge of Scotland, his powerful talents in Parliament, his long experience in business, his frank conciliatory manners, with a bold, intrepid look and elocution, his good temper and good nature, even perhaps his unpretending demeanour and style of conversation, or rather his good-humoured silence in society, all form a very solid basis of power and general influence to him, and much patronage indirect if not official must ever be attendant on power. I believe he is also an enthusiast (as far as a hackneyed politician can be) about the Cape.

He told me last summer he had lost the pleasure of hearing himself speak in the House of Commons. He was then on the eve of marrying his son to Miss Saunders with a fortune of £90,000, partly in land in Norfolk, and he told me what he could settle upon and leave his son. He said unaffectedly, "I think now I might look to a peerage."¹ I think it possible that on the peace he will let himself be drawn or kicked upstairs, or at least in a few years, but whatever he may think, he will not quit the scene of his best exertions, and the place where his reputation and consequent elevation had been reached, *oculo irretorto*. I think he will make a respectable member of the Lords, and, if he retires, a worthy, amiable neighbour in the country, and a useful adviser and friend to those he may leave behind or be succeeded by in town. Nature has given him, what she seldom gives without meaning to graft on it the best social and public virtues, an affectionate heart as a parent, a husband and a friend, and an unparalleled good temper.

Lord Macartney seems really anxious that I should still go. He said, "I certainly shall not stay above two years." I said that it had its pros and cons. A man, at my time of life, could not embark without a tolerably near prospect of attaining the

¹ Dundas was not raised to the peerage until the end of 1802.

situation for which he might agree to embark on such an adventure. On the other hand, when he went I should (besides losing his society and all that belonged to his ability and experience) from my little experience fear the responsibility. He was civil on both grounds, but treated my fear of the responsibility as groundless, because all would be settled before he went, and then the machine would go on of itself. This was not a very ambitious view of the subject for me. He is to see Dundas to-day at twelve and wishes me to call on him to-morrow at the same hour.

Mr. Williams last Sunday gave me this short account of Lord Macartney, who is a great favourite with him (though not so great as a female relation of his Lordship's is said to have been). When he came to London, a handsome young man from Ireland, he was brought acquainted with the old Lord Holland and it was arranged that he should travel with Stephen Fox, merely however as a friend and on a total equality in every respect. They did travel. Lord Macartney, who had a small fortune, and spent more than his companion, having played and indulged in other expenses, returned in debt £10,000. *Ne sachant à quel saint se vouer*, he communicated his distress to Lord Holland, who immediately lent him the whole sum. He afterwards became successively Envoy to Russia, [Irish] Secretary for the three last sessions of Lord Townshend's Lord Lieutenancy, Captain General of the [Caribee Islands], Governor of Granada, Governor of Madras and Ambassador to the Emperor of China and Louis XVIII, and is now designated the first English Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. His policy has been what his easy manners, retentive memory, curious and developed knowledge—literature, philosophy, anecdote, private and political, even families and genealogy,—naturally pointed to—great popularity with men and women. He has kept clear of all party rancour, had friends of all parties, and pursued a systematic course, though by untrodden paths, to rank, fortune, and reputation, which he possesses as well for very considerable parts as uncorrupt integrity and unblemished honour. He is reckoned firm, or obstinate, and though so agreeable in society, of a

difficult temper, and is, I believe, too much a man of minuteness in business.

I met Lord St. Helens¹ yesterday in Jermyn Street. He had been and I was going to call (at Grenier's) on Lord Malmesbury. I said I had heard he was going to Paris. "No, nor should I like it. It is too arduous a task." I said, "I thought you had been chosen, having been there, a peacemaker, before." He observed that one of the conditions on which the passport was granted being that the person sent should be vested with full powers not only to treat but to conclude definitely, it seemed to him, under the circumstances, what no man ought to take the burthen of. He did not seem to speak peevishly, though he may have been disappointed.

Lord Malmesbury, whom I met in the Park, and afterwards saw at Court, did not look despondent. He had a short, close conversation with Pitt before he went into the Closet. Pitt said to somebody, Lord Chatham I think (after it was over), "I have been giving him his lesson before he goes in."

It is certainly a most arduous undertaking. He has experience, address, is diplomatic but not of the *vieille cour*, nor too much so. His constant and general attentions to women have led people to accuse him of frivolity, but persons who know him better than I do say he has a very solid understanding. He gained much fame in 1787 and lost a good deal in 1794.² It remains for him now to recover and add to it on this occasion.³ If he do well, but fail, it will still be to be said, *Magnis lumen excedit ausis*. I think the prospect is brighter of late, and I have a superstitious reliance on the destinies of this country. *Adversis rerum immersabilis undis*.

¹ Alleyne Fitzherbert, created Lord St. Helens for the part he took in settling the Nootka Sound dispute, was a distinguished diplomatist. Glenbervie's reference is to his negotiation of peace with France and Spain in 1782-3.

² In the former year he had negotiated an alliance with Prussia and Holland; in the latter he had failed in a mission to the King of Prussia to get him to honour his engagements.

³ Pitt was at this time genuinely anxious for peace, but Lord Malmesbury's efforts, first at Paris and afterwards at Lille, were rendered fruitless by the unacceptable nature of the French demands.

Oct. 14, *Friday, 8 a.m., Bruton Street.*—Yesterday Molini¹ came to me. He has been a month at Paris and left it the day on the evening of which the attack was made on the camp of Grenelle. His observations cannot be very deep, from his short stay and his small opportunities, but he often dined with Prince Corsini, the new Tuscan Minister to France, whose *condiscipolo* he had been at Bologna under a famous *professora* of philosophy of those days, and there he had occasion to see the other Italian ministers and deputies.

He dined at the best restaurateur's for *four livres in coin*, including wine. He had half a poulet, mutton, something else, cheese and a bottle of small burgundy which made fifteen sous of the four livres. Lodging not dear. A *petit pain* of excellent quality, one-third larger than our roll, two sous. There are scarcely any mandats and no assignats. Things are not dearer between Calais and Paris than at Paris. The crop excellent along that road, but the vintages were said to be likely to be bad. Very few carriages at Paris. The women cheaply dressed. Scarcely any men at the theatres. Very few carriages in the street, and little passage of carts or traffic. There are a great many books on sale for very low prices, but a great demand for English books, for which he received a good many orders.

Oct. 15, *Saturday, 8 a.m., Bruton Street.*—The company at Craufurd's were Calonne, Fitzpatrick, myself, Trail, Lord Hertford, Lord Stair, Fawkener, James. Calonne was out of spirits. From what I could perceive he is not at all well-informed of the state of things or persons at Paris. It seems to be his notion that the Directory are not disposed to treat. He conjectures that Lord Malmesbury will be well received by the people, that they will perhaps receive with acclamations and crowd about his carriage, but that when he is to see the Directory they will put on great hauteur, and put forward their decree incorporating Belgium, etc., as soon as there is a beginning of negotiations between them. Fitzpatrick talked of the mission (it seems Lord Malmesbury is only minister plenipotentiary, not ambassador) as admitted by the French, for the mere purpose

¹ There were several related Italian men of letters of this name.

of humiliation to us, and said they have a right to insist on the *Uti possidetis*. Much of his discourse was no doubt not his serious meaning, but in a great degree a sort of Opposition *hoax* on a person connected with Administration. I was simple enough to fall into something of argument in earnest on the point, but soon found that was very idle and imprudent and therefore changed the subject. He is very pleasant and arch in conversation, but I think inferior to Hare.

Calonne seems to me a person who talks very loosely of facts and takes liberty with the circumstances of them, as well their colour, lights and shades and the points of view in which it suits him at the moment to present them. Thomas Grenville says he is writing still in the papers to recommend himself to the Directory. Many thought his *Tableau* ¹ last year had that object, and he thought it necessary in the second edition to refute the objection. It is thought he will not succeed. If he has not the faults and even criminality which have been charged upon him, his character for levity and indiscretion is established by his conduct in and out of affairs, and with talents, knowledge, eloquence and engaging manners and conversation, his parts seem to be parts that none will trust.

He and Breteuil ² I understand have often met at the Duke of Queensberry's at Richmond this autumn, but do not speak. Calonne told us he has a son in the Prince of Condé's army. Madame de Calonne is at Venice and has lately written to him that they are in great agitation there from intelligence that Buonaparte's army is marching against Trieste, where he says the Emperor has got stores and magazines. She says the French do not respect at all the neutrality of Venice.

I have sometimes of late been afraid that this method of committing hastily to writing circumstances and thoughts as they occur, and leisure permits or inclination prompts, will establish in me the habit of a lax and unfinished style in writing and perhaps in conversation. I have never exercised myself,

¹ *Tableau de l'Europe en novembre, 1795* ; published in London.

² It was Breteuil who had been sent to Calonne to request his resignation.

with any degree of application, or on any regular plan, in the art of composition. My first education was in no degree directed to that point, and though among the various unsettled objects of ambition which floated in my mind during the early part of my life, before I engaged (at the age of 27) in the study of the law (1771), I coveted alternately the fame of an author and an orator, I did not take any step to enter on any course which could justify the slightest hope of realising such unreal dreams. In the year 1773 I read with attention Cicero's didactic works, and some of his orations, with an express view to the profession of the law, and from that time forwards I have at intervals read and thought with a more fixed interest than formerly on the subject of style. Quintilianus is perhaps the best, and on the whole the most agreeable writer on the subject, ancient or modern, and this praise is justly bestowed on him in a short review of rhetorical authors to be found in Dr. Blair's¹ sensible and eloquent lectures.

After due preparation by an intimate knowledge of the best of those writers, and the still greater acquaintance and familiarity with the best models, the only universal rule seems to me frequent experiment, and a severe criticism of our own attempts. The ascertained history of different eminent writers and public speakers proves at once the value of this rule, and the uncertainty of all others. For among the most eminent some are known to have pursued one method of composition and some another, quite different and almost opposite, and yet to have attained equal, perhaps similar, excellence. . . .²

In this place and in such an enquiry it may be permitted to pass from such great men to the humble contemplation of one's own peculiarity of constitution. I have felt through life not only a greater disposition or zeal for study and the exercise of the intellectual faculties, but also both a greater fertility of conception and more facility of expression at this season of the year than at any other time. Perhaps this may be explained

¹ Hugh Blair, professor of rhetoric and *belles lettres* at Edinburgh from 1762 to 1783, and a celebrated preacher.

² Here follows an account of the methods of various famous authors.

(for I am sure of the fact) in a more easy way than by resorting to any natural cause, independent of accidental or external circumstances. In the summer the pleasure of being out-of-doors as much as possible has generally prevented me from pursuing either close study or very deep meditation, or when the heat has been too great for motion and exercise it has also been too enervating for much exertion of the mind. In the spring the allurements of society, or the occupations of business, have interfered. In short, I incline to think that every young person who feels an impulse towards that sort of fame which to real genius is the first prize of ambition and totally eclipses all other, and is a pursuit to be encouraged in all who are placed above the class of labourers and mechanics, should be conducted to form himself to such habits of self-discipline and exercise in composition as shall be found most suited to his particular cast of intellect, but never, on any notion of facility on the one hand, or ineptitude to persevering exertion on the other, to relax his adherence to the one universal and essential rule I have mentioned, a rule as essential and universal as that of early rising has been said to be to longevity, it having been observed by persons who were in a situation to make satisfactory enquiry on the subject that old age has been attained by persons living according to almost every possible sort of regime, but that the practice of early rising has been common to them all.

Lady Katherine says her father used to tell her that he never could prepare the words of a speech. He reflected on the subject and the arrangement, and perhaps composed a few sentences of introduction and conclusion, but left the rest to the extempore language which should occur to him in the act of speaking. His letters used to take a great deal of time in writing. Of this she is a good judge, as after the misfortune of his blindness she and Lady Anne were his only amanuenses, and at last there was something embarrassed and not flowing or what was to be expected from him in the style. She thinks this arose from the habits of caution he had contracted while Minister and the anxiety not to go beyond or fall short of the mark in what he thought it right to say.

Oct. 16, Sunday, 8 a.m., Pheasantry.—Lady Katherine pointed out to me, in a letter I received from her yesterday, a remarkable coincidence in several of the circumstances of a late subject of public discussion and public scandal with those which produced very similar effects about the time of Charles II's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal. The King, before the marriage, had engaged in a love affair, or rather had entertained openly as a mistress, a lady of noble rank, of the name of Villiers, whose husband had received promotion to procure his acquiescence in the conduct of his wife. The Queen on her arrival brought with her a formed resolution that she would never suffer this person in her presence, and her determination was supported by the exertions direct and indirect of the Chancellor and other Ministers. In other respects indeed the parallel fails. The Princess of Wales began by receiving the mistress¹ with complaisance and afterwards discovered such strong and effectual resentment, at the undisguised empire of this lady of her bed-chamber and the contemptuous treatment of herself, as to take measures which have ended in her removal from her household. Queen Catherine, on the contrary, finding the King was not to be reasoned or frightened into the sort of behaviour which he owed to her and more to himself and the nation, sank into an abject submission and became the sycophant and toad-eater of her rival. It remains, however, to be seen what will be the ultimate result in the present instance of a struggle as yet perhaps but in its infancy.

10 p.m.—Lady Katherine and I have been to see Lord Orford this evening. We found him showing a portfolio of miscellaneous prints to Sir Charles Blagdon and Mr. Berry. Lord Orford says at the time the late Duke of York went to Italy, Wilkes, being asked what he thought the reason why he had gone to Rome, answered, "I suppose it is that he may be touched." The Pretender was then residing at Rome.

Oct. 20, 10 p.m., Bruton Street.—It has been a speculation for some time whether Lady Jersey would go to the drawing room to-day with a daughter she had to present. She was there,

¹ The Countess of Jersey, whose husband's family name was Villiers.

and spoken to by the King and Queen, to all appearance as usual—except that they seemed to delay it as long as they could. Fawkener¹ stood near when the daughter was presented to the Queen. I thought him anxious and agitated. Several ladies were whispering to one another to observe the likeness.

Lord Orford had heard that the Prince has a new favourite, and the Vernons asked Lady Katherine the other day about Mrs. Steele. I believe she is totally out of the question. I believe she would not suffer it—that, if she would, Steele would not—and I do not think she would be likely to captivate the Prince. But it may be some mistress of Steele's, for though he is an excellent husband, it is said he cannot deserve that character if perfect constancy is an indispensable requisite.

I had some vague conversation with Windham yesterday. He did not seem out of humour, nor yet quite like a man who thought he was going to be Chancellor of the Duchy.

Lady Anne Barnard told me the following circumstance of him a few days ago. During the first part of their acquaintance and love-making he had told Lady Margaret and her that at Eton his nickname was “*Tricks and Fancies.*” They had sometimes joked with him on this sobriquet and insisted that he still merited that name. One day he was sitting by Lady Anne and had kept his eyes fixed on the ceiling for a considerable time, silent and seemingly abstracted in thought. Lady Anne interrupted his brown study, and asked him what he had been thinking of. He said, “I have been thinking of the great hold I have given you over me, by telling you that my school name was ‘*Tricks and Fancies.*’”

Fred North has written to Lady A. to send him a large quantity of castor oil, which Lady Ch. says must be for the *evacuation* of Corsica.²

¹ This intrigue between William Augustus Fawkener (diplomat and Clerk to the Privy Council) and Lady Jersey, the Prince's mistress, is referred to again later.

² Presumably Lady Anne and Lady Charlotte North, sisters to Frederick North and Lady Glenbervie, are referred to in this paragraph. At this date neither of them was married, but they afterwards became the wives, respectively, of the first Earl of Sheffield and Lieut.-Col. the Hon. John Lindsay, Lady Anne Barnard's brother.

Oct. 22, Saturday, 9 p.m., Pheasantry.—At Court on Thursday the Queen and Princesses were particularly obliging to Lady Katherine. One of the Princesses said to her in a low voice, “I am very happy you do not go.” She curtsied without saying anything, on which one of the others whispered her sister to speak louder for that Lady Katherine had not heard her. While we were keeping the change of our destination a profound secret, to comply with the request of Mr Pitt, Lady Harcourt told her sisters that one day when she dined at Frogmore, the King had mentioned it openly before all the pages. He did not say what is to be the substitute for the Cape. I am afraid he did not, and yet does not know.

Oct. 26, Wednesday, 7 p.m., Bruton Street.—The reception of Lady Jersey last Thursday is a general topic. The Queen’s speaking to her, which she did at least as much as to most other ladies, was not in general liked by the persons present. It has revived the reports of her having favoured her in her appointment about the Princess. It is said that there was a correspondence between the Queen and the Prince during the King’s illness of a nature which would not redound to her credit, if it were to be divulged, that the Prince has given Lady Jersey possession of this correspondence, and that the Queen is apprised of this.

I was at Wimbledon on Monday and slept there last night, but could get no conversation with Dundas on India affairs. Last night he was ill and continued so this morning, but it seems manifest that though he proposed to me to come to the Board of Control as a situation of business, he has no inclination to give me any efficient participation in the affairs of India. I am determined to bring that matter to an early decision.

Lady Liverpool has called repeatedly on Lady Katherine. She sent to desire her to come to her this evening, or that she and I would go there to-morrow evening. She put off the evil day, so we go to-morrow. I think Lord Liverpool wishes to sound me about the depending arrangement, or that he wishes to open some sort of negotiation.

Oct. 27, Thursday, 11 p.m., Bruton Street.—We have just been to Lord Liverpool, where Lady Katherine played cards,

and I conversed with him. But there passed nothing to justify the conjecture I had formed. He told me many circumstances of the famous Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, having been when he was young a good deal at Blenheim and much acquainted with Dr. Stevens, her steward, who had accumulated a fortune of £70,000 in that service. He says the Speaker Onslow told him the following anecdote. In the year 1717 it was determined to bring Lord Oxford¹ to his trial. Serjeant (afterwards Chief Baron) Comyns was his Counsel. On learning that it was settled that he was to be tried, he sent for the Serjeant and told him : “ I have a defence which I did not choose to communicate to you before. I have in my possession several letters of the Duke of Marlborough to the Pretender. You must take them to the Duke and tell him if he suffers my trial to go on, I will certainly make them public.” The Serjeant answered that, though he did not mean to dissuade the measure, he could not accept the commission. That it was not within the province of a Counsel. Lord Oxford asked him then whom he would advise him to employ in it. He said he thought his son Lord Harley would be the fittest person. Lord Harley was accordingly sent to the Duke to tell him of the letters, and that the fact was only then known to his father, himself and Serjeant Comyns, and that it should remain a secret if he contrived to stop the trial, otherwise not. The trial was stopped on the pretext of some misunderstanding between the two Houses. The year afterwards the Duchess had carried the Duke to Tunbridge Wells, where Comyns happened to come in his attendance on the Circuits on the way from Maidstone to Horsham. The Duke’s intellects were then failing and he used hardly ever to speak. He was walking on the Pantiles leaning on the Duchess’s arm when Comyns passed, and happened to be addressed by his name in the Duke’s hearing, who immediately fixed his eyes on him in a sort of paroxysm of terror and kept looking at him in seeming agony till he went off the Pantiles, when he resumed his former deportment.

¹ Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer from 1711 to 1714, impeached for bringing about the Peace of Utrecht.

Cardonnel, a Frenchman, had been the Duke's *valet de chambre*¹ and became his secretary. He amassed a large fortune, which he left to his only child, who married the late Earl of Talbot, son to the Chancellor. On her death the estate came to her daughter, Lady Dynevor.

It appeared by some proceedings in Chancery after the Duke's death that he died possessed of £5,000 a year landed estate of Blenheim and the £5,000 a year annexed to it and of a million of money. He left the Duchess a jointure of £20,000 and sole trustee of his estates and money. By saving and rapacity of every kind she was able to leave to the late Lord Spencer what on his coming of age amounted to £32,000 a year.

Stevens told Lord Liverpool she was so ignorant that she could not count a large sum of money unless he laid it in parcels of ten guineas. She was unable to prove or control his accounts, but early after he came into her service, she took the following method of trying him. She came into his room one morning and said, looking very earnest and displeased: "Well, sir, I have discovered you." He was all astonishment and asked what she had discovered. "I shall not," said she, "go into any explanation. I am sorry for it, but you are found out and we must part." In this sort of way she went on for an hour, keeping him in suspense all the time, and at last told him she only meant to try him. From that time he enjoyed her entire confidence. She had agents all over the country to find out the circumstances and value of whatever estates might be to be sold. When she made a purchase she kept it always two years before she declared whether it was made on behalf of the Duke's or on her own account, and then if the bargain proved a good one, she declared the acquisition to have been for herself; if a bad one, for the trust.

Oct. 28, Friday, 3 p.m., Bruton Street.—Somebody mentioned yesterday that Lord Malmesbury had travelled very slowly to Paris. "No wonder," said Burke, "as he travelled all the way on his knees."

¹ Before becoming Marlborough's secretary, Adam de Cardonnel had been chief clerk at the War Office and treasurer to the commissioners for sick and wounded seamen. He was expelled from the House of Commons for corrupt practices, and is said to have died worth £80,000.

Lord Hawkesbury¹ told me the following particulars from his despatches. He arrived on Saturday forenoon, applauded and escorted by the populace. The next day he saw La Croix, *ministre pour les relations étrangères*. His forms went accordingly to all the politeness and etiquette of the former times. On producing his powers, he objected that they were directed to the *French Republic* instead of the *Executive Directory* (which I had heard was the case) but Lord Malmesbury soon satisfied him on that point. Lord Malmesbury then required all the privileges of an Ambassador, which was accorded. He then desired that La Croix's powers should be as ample as his own. He said he must take the commands of the Directory on the subject. He required that he should have a free and general intercourse with his Court. That too must be decided on by the Directory. In the evening notice was sent him that La Croix had full powers. The other demand had not been answered when his courier came away, which was on Monday morning. He got to Calais on Wednesday where he was detained some time by contrary winds.

Oct. 29, Saturday, 7.30 p.m., Bruton Street.—Lady Katherine went last night to Lady Mendip's. She found only her, my Lord, and his great-nephew, Lord Clifden.² The conversation was uninterrupted and therefore must have been entertaining. Two anecdotes, one of his own telling and another of Lady Katherine's, made the honest old gentleman quite shake his sides with laughing. Lady Mary Duncan's mother, grandmother to the present Lord Thanet, was a very clever person, but as Lord Mendip expressed it, of a caustic humour, which she used frequently to vent upon her husband. He, it seems, possessed a calmness which often provoked her. He was, as Lord Mendip said, quite *impassive*. One day, in one of her acrimonious fits, she said to him that she was sure if she were to die he would

¹ Eldest son of the first Earl of Liverpool, whom he succeeded in 1808. Secretary of State successively for Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs and War and the Colonies, he was Prime Minister from 1812 to 1827.

² Henry Welbore, second Viscount Clifden, who eventually inherited the barony of Mendip and took the additional surname of Ellis.

marry again immediately. He answered coolly, "Who do you think would have me?" "I can't tell, but rather than not marry at all, you would marry the devil's daughter." He replied, "No, that would be against law, you can't marry a sister of your former wife."

Lady Katherine's story was this: Lord Thanet had invited several of his country neighbours to dine with him and had entreated of Lady Thanet that she would treat them with civility, which she promised to do. When they were assembled, she came into the drawing room and after the common bows and curtsies, she said, "Gentlemen, I beg you will be on no ceremony here—do exactly as if you were at home—get upon all fours."

Nov. 3, Thursday, 9 a.m., Bruton Street.—I happened to stand by the Chancellor at the levee [yesterday]. The King told us he had been reading Gibbon's posthumous works. He remarked on the egotism and vanity which he had found in them, and the uniform bias towards infidelity. At the same time he mentioned that he had been assured by a clergyman who was in Switzerland when Gibbon was last there, that he used to go at Christmas and Easter into some of the Catholic countries in the neighbourhood, in order to communicate according to that religion. The Chancellor expressed his disbelief of this anecdote. The King observed on the strong proof of intense and methodical study to be found in these posthumous works of Gibbon's, and I observed that they would, in that respect, furnish a valuable example and excitement to young persons. I mentioned that he says he had printed his three last volumes from the first copy, and the King said that he had heard that the late Bishop Newton had the same faculty of finishing his style so entirely before he put anything on paper as never to correct or alter it afterwards. He said this habit had been acquired from the circumstance of his being a bad sleeper, that he thought over and polished what he meant to write in the night, so that, when he came for the first time to commit it to paper, it was in truth as if he had been making a copy of it.

The King took notice that I was mentioned advantageously in Gibbon's book.

Nov. 12, Saturday, 7 p.m., Bruton Street.—As Lord Mornington's promotion seems to be connected with mine, so that we have a common interest, and no interference, both Lady Katherine and I have thought that by communication with him we might learn something more than we know of the causes of the suspense which still continues. She wrote to him this morning to desire he would take the trouble to call upon her, which he did. He tells her that about the time when I was told I might expect a place at the Treasury Board, he had received a letter from Pitt to say that in a day or two he should have either the one or the other of two offices mentioned in the letter. At first he said he did not think himself at liberty to say what the offices were, but afterwards mentioned them to be the Duchy or Joint Paymaster. Since that time (about six weeks ago) he has not heard a word on the subject, and has never spoken to Pitt upon it. But he understands that the delay has been occasioned by Lord Liverpool refusing to accommodate Mr. Pitt by taking the Privy Seal. He abused him very much—said that though his own interest made him wish that he should have that office, he thought he had no pretensions to that or those he now holds; that his refusal to accommodate Pitt is an act of the most scandalous ingratitude, for that he had declared on the formation of the Ministry in 1785 *he had no pretensions to office and only desired protection*, and yet had been loaded with rank and emoluments.

Lord Mornington says, Lady Chatham (on the report of Lord Liverpool begging to be made Privy Seal) had wished Lady Liverpool joy, who flew in a passion and said, "*No, they may make a fool of your husband,¹ but they can't of mine. He is a man of business.*" Lord Mornington understands the Privy Seal to be in income about £400 or £500 less than the Duchy. He understands that Lord Liverpool is not well with the King. He is to see Pitt to-morrow. As soon as he knows anything he is to write to Lady Katherine.

¹ The second Earl of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, after being First Lord of the Admiralty for six years, had been made Lord Privy Seal in 1794. In 1796 he became Lord President of Council.

Nov. 18, Friday, 8 a.m., Bruton Street.—I was at Court yesterday and the day before. Lady Katherine went on purpose to see Dundas and had a long conversation with him. He told her the delay was entirely owing to Lord Liverpool ; that when he wrote to me he had not the most distant idea that my appointment would not take place the second day of the session. He said the King was very angry and had said that it was a scandalous thing that Lord Liverpool should prevent the promotion of persons who have claims upon Government, or think himself entitled to make difficulties about taking a place which has been always an object of ambition to persons of the first rank and consequence ; that the King had added that Lord Liverpool wished to be President, but he hoped Mr. Pitt would never be induced to give him that situation, to which he said he had no pretension. But as to the hopes of any immediate arrangement, I think the utmost Lady Katherine gathered from Dundas was that they were writing to see whether the knowledge of the sentiments of which care had been taken to apprise Lord Liverpool, would not induce him to accede to the business amicably. I saw Lord Mornington afterwards at the dinner given by the East India Company to Lord Macartney. He has heard nothing further.

At Court we heard of Mrs. North ¹ having died the night before. It is, I believe, impossible for anybody to be less regretted. But it was a strange thing in the King to come quite across the circle to say to me, Lady Katherine standing by me, that he was very glad indeed, and gave all the North family joy.

The Duke of Dorset asked me what I thought of the dresses of the Directory at Paris ; whether they were not very picturesque ; and whether I had come by the way of Amiens. I stared and told him I had not been in France lately. He said he thought he had read something of my having been there, or somewhere else in the papers, and I concluded he had made some puzzle about the Cape. Afterwards Lord Macartney carried Mr.

¹ Henrietta Maria, wife of Brownlow North, Bishop of Winchester, Lady Glenbervie's uncle. She was apparently a notorious card-player (see p. 99), and Walpole has an amusing anecdote regarding her protracted toilet.

Barnard and me in his coach to dinner at the *London Tavern*. I was mentioning this circumstance, when Barnard said he had heard a week ago that the Duke of Dorset was disordered in his mind.¹ Lord Macartney says his father, Lord John, was confined, near Lausanne, when he was there on his travels. It was observed that Lord Macartney looked very ill yesterday.

At dinner I sat next Windham and Ryder. Windham had not the manner of a man going out of office. He says he had often conjectured that Gibbon was the author of Junius, and that he had told me this conjecture at Paris in the year 1788 (which I do not at all recollect). His grounds were that Junius must have been written by some person under circumstances similar to what must have been those of Gibbon at that time : the talent and habit of composition, without being much known in that respect ; access to persons engaged in the politics of the time, and the means of that sort of knowledge of persons, connections and public and private conduct which appear in the letters of Junius ; something not very unlike in the styles of Junius and Gibbon ; a professed admiration of Tacitus by both ; sarcasm a prevailing figure in both. He regrets that he never put Sir Joshua Reynolds on this scent, who he thinks would have found it out. However, he admits that his conjecture is invalidated by the circumstance of nothing appearing in Gibbon's *Memoirs* to warrant it.

He says he has heard Burke declare solemnly that he was not the author of the account of our settlements in the West Indies which has been often ascribed to him. He also says that Burke was not the author of the historical part of the *Annual Register* ; that he (Windham) knows the author, who is still alive, but has for some time given up writing it.

Lady Katherine and I went to the play at Drury Lane last Wednesday, when the comedy called the *Belle's Stratagem*² was acted, in which there is a pointed compliment to the virtue

¹ He was described as "arrogant and haughty, ignorant and illiterate," and also (by Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire) as "the most dangerous of men." His amours were many and notorious.

² By Hannah Cowley. It was first acted in 1780.

and good qualities of the Queen. This was received without the smallest sign of applause. Twenty years ago the house would have resounded with the clapping from all quarters.

Nov. 20, Sunday, 12 o'clock, Eden Farm.—On arriving here yesterday we found Lord Auckland's carriage ready to carry him to dine at the Duchess of Hamilton's, who has a small lodge in the neighbourhood, in her brother's park. It had been settled that I was to go with him, and we found there Dundas and Lady Jane, Pitt, Mrs. Bennet and a Miss Muir, who lives with the Duchess. Pitt had dined and slept here the night before, and returned here with us last night after supper. He has been here five days in the week every week for the last two months. The world supposes he is in love with Miss Eden. I could discover nothing particular in his manner or looks, last night or this morning, to warrant their belief. But as his visits have been so frequent under different pretexts, chiefly of a desire to consult Lord Auckland on finance, which it seems he has never yet done, Lord Auckland says he thinks he must certainly be in love with him, Lady Auckland or Eleanor.

Dundas, and even Pitt, seemed out of spirits. Not a hint of my business.

Nov. 21, Monday, 10.30 a.m., Eden Farm.—From Pitt's manner, in a walk we took yesterday, his constantly sidling up to Eleanor, and particularly his reluctance to go away and various pretexts for staying beyond an hour when he told us he was engaged, I am now persuaded he is in love and means to marry her.¹ George Wilson said the other day, on our mentioning the report, that he thought there would be great *levity* in his thinking of love or marriage just at this critical moment of public affairs. The first reflection raised by this remark, was on the almost cynical severity of Wilson's character. But I

¹ Many others beside Glenbervie were so persuaded. That the frigid Pitt was at last in love was the talk of society and copy for the journalists. But before he had committed himself irrevocably he drew back, for reasons which Dr. Holland Rose, who has discussed the episode fully in his *William Pitt*, believes were financial. In 1799 Eleanor Eden, the eldest of Lord Auckland's six daughters, became the second wife of Lord Hobart, afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire, who frequently figures in this journal.

have since begun to agree with him. How strange it would seem, and how offensive perhaps to the public both in England and Europe, if it was to be known that almost every day since the recess of Parliament the man on whom rest the interests of so many, the fate perhaps of this and future generations, the main burthen of the contest between the Allies and the French, have been spent here in idleness and lounging and the Minister's mind chiefly occupied with a passion which employs his thoughts the more from his awkward backwardness to speak, or his yet unsettled resolution on the subject.

Lord Auckland says he was told by a person who had it from the King himself that when Lord Jersey last summer desired an audience in order to vindicate his wife's character from the aspersions thrown upon it, he heard him with great attention till he came to assure his Majesty solemnly that she had ever been a most faithful and virtuous wife, but that he could not stand that or help saying, "What!—what!—what!"

Nov. 27, Bruton Street.—The following epitaph has been suggested (whether new or revived) for Mrs. North. "Here lies in expectation of the last *Trump*." When Ossian Macpherson died, it was proposed that his epitaph should be, "*Here continueth to lie.*"

Dr. Wilson of Dublin University was a famous joker. Having occasion to examine a student of the name of Scarlet who had made but little progress in his studies, he said to him, "O! Scarlet, Scarlet, thou art not deep red." This pun is rendered more perfect by Mr. Mitford's orthography, who always writes the participle of the verb "*read*" in that manner.

The same Dr. Wilson having reprimanded another student who was just come to the college, and seemed a conceited coxcomb, for passing him without pulling off his hat, the other pleaded as his excuse that having been but two days a student he did not know the Doctor.

"Well," says he, "I think I ought to excuse you, for puppies never see in less than nine."

Dec. 3, Saturday, 8 p.m., Bruton Street.—Lady Guilford has never been asked to any of the Queen's parties, nor, of course,

Lady Anne nor Lady Charlotte. Lady Katherine was twice last winter. Since Lord Guilford's death, it does not seem reasonable to consider Lady Guilford as particularly connected with party. Her eldest son is in opposition, but he makes no part of her family. Colonel North is not in Parliament, and her other son and her son-in-law are in the service of Government. Lady Buckinghamshire is another Countess who has never been asked to the Queen's House or Windsor, and she has felt this neglect more than Lady Guilford. But it seems she is now tranquilised on the subject, Lady Harrington (one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber) having told her from the Queen that she was sorry not to ask her, but that it had been thought proper to draw the line of not inviting any ladies whose families are in opposition. Lord Buckinghamshire after his coming to the title voted in opposition. I believe of late he was not attended. Lady Albinia Cumberland¹ has been lately taken into the Queen's family, and Lord Hobart is Governor of Madras.

Dec. 5, Monday, 10 a.m., Bruton Street.—We dined at Lady Guilford's yesterday, to meet Mr. Williams and Storer. Frank² dined at home. He is cropped and looks very handsome, but a little Cromwellian, which God knows is not his temper. Lady Guilford says he is like Townshend, the thief-catcher—a likeness he had found out himself, and mentioned to Gentleman Welsh, saying he hoped his mother would not find it out.

Storer says Lord Orford is revising his correspondence with Sir Horace Mann, his letters having been returned to him since Sir Horace's death. It continued for forty years. It seems Lord Orford is come to town and ill. This winter it is to be feared will be severe on the old and infirm, for since Thursday or Friday we have had a frost much more intense than is usual so soon in the winter. I believe observers have remarked, and

¹ Eldest daughter of the third Earl of Buckinghamshire, and wife of Richard Cumberland, son of the dramatist.

² Francis North, second son of the second Earl of Guilford (Lord North). He succeeded his brother as fourth Earl in 1802. He was in the army until 1794, when he retired with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and he wrote a play, *The Kentish Baron*, which was produced in 1791.

reason seems to confirm, that early frosts indicate a long and severe winter. If the earth gets very cold before the sun reaches the southern tropic, it is a long time before the returning heat can operate.

Frank North told us a saying of Mr. Nares,¹ the writer in the *British Critic*, which was thought very good. It seems he had been tutor to the present Sir Watkin Wynne. The father was one day censuring some part of Mr. Nares's conduct (which did only concern himself). "Sir," says he, "you seem to be under some mistake in this matter. I am your son's tutor, but you are not mine."

The name of Nares brings to my recollection a piece of nonsense (for it cannot be called wit) of the late Tom Cooper of the Oxford Circuit, who, however, had a great deal of wit, which diverted us very much at the time. Nares, the judge, uncle to the other, whose abilities were not of the first rank, and whose manner of trying causes was a common topic of mirth with the counsel who generally went that circuit. One day, some young man was descanting on the absurdity of a summing up of Nares's that morning. When he had done, Cooper said to him with great gravity: "I think, sir, you are of the opinion which most of us who have gone the circuit for any time entertain, that a *trial per pares* is a much better thing than a *trial per Nares*."

In the evening Lady Katherine and I went to Lord Mendip's. He was very alert, and full of conversation, which he led, as is frequent with him, to classical subjects.

It appeared accidentally that he had been in his dressing-room that morning between eight and nine. This at eighty-three on the fourth of December and the thermometer, as he had observed it, below freezing point. The winter is, however, alarming to him also. I shall be sorry when he dies, but may it be with entire faculties and without pain.

8 *p.m.*—Mr. Williams said yesterday, he wondered if it was

¹ Robert Nares, author, *inter alia*, of a well-known glossary of Elizabethan literature, a canon of Lichfield, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and archdeacon of Stafford.

true that a friend of Bryant's,¹ who lives in the neighbourhood of Salt Hill, had taken him in, by writing to him desiring he would inform him of the truth relative to the cause of the death of several gentlemen who had (lately) died suddenly after a dinner of justices, at Mrs. Partridge's inn at Salt Hill. One report was that they had been poisoned by wine fused with arsenic. Another, that a pauper who had been brought before them had infected them with a jail-fever—that he (Mr. Bryant) from his nearness to the spot, must naturally have the means of knowing how the fact really was. Mr. Bryant's reply was that he had been at the utmost pains to investigate the matter and had collected and weighed all the evidence on both sides, but that the point was still involved in so much obscurity that he would form no opinion on the subject. This was what his friend had expected, and he soon took an opportunity of continuing the correspondence and representing to Mr. Bryant that it was rather unreasonable in him to expect many converts to those new discoveries which he thought he had so firmly established in his book on mythology when it appeared that he could not get at the bottom of a circumstance which had happened, in a manner at his own door, only a fortnight before.

Dec. 7, Wednesday, 1 p.m., Bruton Street.—We dined at the Chancellor's. After dinner Lady Loughborough asked Lady Katherine if she believed in Mr. Pitt's marriage; that all Pitt's friends believe it will be a match; that she thinks all very right, except the father-in-law. She added that she had said the other day to Mrs. Drummond (Dundas's daughter), "How long do you think my husband and your father will continue in the Cabinet if this marriage takes place?"

There was a good deal of sagacity in the question, enough to indicate the reflections of a greater politician than Lady Loughborough.

The Chancellor was more than civil to me—he was coming—I believe he thinks I see more of Pitt than I do.

¹ Jacob Bryant, antiquary, author of *A New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, which provoked much controversy; and of many other works.

When we were at Eden Farm about ten days ago, the conversation turned, at breakfast, on the Dundases. Lord Auckland said he thought Dundas out of spirits, which Pitt denied having observed. We all agreed that he never was much of a talker. Pitt qualified it by saying, "Never in a mixed company," but added a strong instance where the only company was himself, William Grant (the King's Counsel) and Dundas. He said, after being himself for some time at the whole expense of the conversation, he had stopped and waited to see if either of them would begin any subject and that he literally waited without effect, a dead silence having prevailed for all that time.

Lord Orford is come to town for the winter.

The want of an index and the want of memory have probably produced many repetitions in this diary, but I will look it over some time or other and strike them out. Perhaps the following is one. Lord Orford had been always much acquainted with Lady Brown, and when neither of them were any longer young, he wrote these lines upon her :

When I was young and debonair
The brownest nymph to me was fair.
But now I'm old and wiser grown
The fairest nymph to me is Brown.

This *jeu de mots* is also a *jeu d'esprit*. He must be a very *stizzoso* critic who will not allow its merit. Yet it cannot be translated more than the much wittier saying of Lady Bridget Tollemache on the late Lord Huntingdon, "that he came bowing into the world, and went curtseying out of it."

Dec. 8, Thursday, 10 a.m., Bruton Street.—Mr. Pitt opened the Budget yesterday—not triumphantly I think either as to finance or war. On finance his words were bolder than his manner. Of the war he never ventured to speak beyond another campaign, and there was a good deal of devout and ardent wishes for pacification and the success of the measures depending for that end. He said little or nothing more on the French resources, but that it was matter of exultation and almost of astonishment that we contrived still to struggle effectually against those who had *perhaps exhausted*, certainly employed, measures

of supply of the most oppressive as well as the most wasteful sort.¹

Part of the ways and means is an increase of £300,000 on the Scotch distilleries, and this exclusive of what may be laid on those in the Highlands. He has the concurrence of the Revenue Boards of that country, of the magistrates and even of the most considerable distillers.

While Mr. Pitt was opening this last part of his Budget, I reminded the Speaker [Addington] (who sat by me) of Burns, the Scottish poet's, verses against the taxation of whiskey. I knew him to be an admirer of Burns, and he immediately recollected and repeated a passage in that very poem. He has indeed a great memory for poetry and classical knowledge of every sort, and possesses a great deal of general literature.

Dec. 13, Tuesday, 11 a.m., Bruton Street.—Intelligence has been received of the Emperor of China's² resignation. He has announced this event by a letter to the King which has been received, and which is written on smooth paper, rolled round a cylindrical roller, in three languages, Chinese, Manchu and Latin. It seems the Emperor had always declared this intention to resign after he should have reigned sixty years, which period he has accomplished. He is eighty-four years of age, but Lord Macartney says has not the appearance of more than sixty.³

Dec. 16, Friday, 12 o'clock, Bruton Street.—No work which forms a whole can be read with sufficient justice to the author, or advantage to the reader, if it is not read without much interruption. But I find that I began the perusal of Herodotus, which I only finished last Tuesday, on the 11th of August in the year 1791. However, I have read the last five books exactly within a month, having begun *Terpsichore* on the 13th of November.

8.30 p.m.—I just heard a very eloquent and affecting speech from General Fitzpatrick⁴ introducing his motion for an address to the King to intercede with the Emperor for the release of

¹ The details of the Budget follow.

² Ch'ien-lung. ³ Macartney had been on a mission to China in 1793.

⁴ Richard Fitzpatrick. See p. 2 n.

Monsieur de La Fayette. He read, among other papers, an extract of a letter from Madame de La Fayette, which Lally communicated to me last year, in which she states the circumstances of her interview with the Emperor, and that he told her that with regard to the release of her husband, "*ses mains étaient liées.*" From these words Fitzpatrick inferred that he is detained by the interference of the Emperor's allies.

Mr. Pitt denied this to be the necessary meaning of the words and asserted that this Government never had interfered directly or indirectly. He then argued the impropriety that there would be for us to meddle in what is a matter of mere domestic government with the Emperor, but concluded by saying that he would take care that it should be fully explained that we never have interfered.

When Fitzpatrick sat down, Pitt and Windham rose at the same time, on which the call from the Opposition side of the House for *Windham* was violent and lasted for several minutes. However, Pitt held out, and at last the Speaker called to him and Windham sat down.

The circumstances and manner of this call for Windham were extremely insulting, being intended to convey their conviction that he could not speak without committing some indiscretion, and laying himself open to attack.

Fox answered Pitt, and then William Smith got up, on which I came away, having previously informed Mr. Pitt that I did not choose to divide against La Fayette, on account of our intimacy with his wife's family.

Dec. 19, Monday, 11 a.m., Bruton Street.—Windham afterwards spoke in the debate on Friday night; his friends say with great spirit, the opposition say with great barbarity, collecting and exaggerating every circumstance in La Fayette's history that could make against him.

On Saturday morning I saw Dundas, and found that any arrangement is as little in forwardness as ever. . . . He says the King has been told that Lord Liverpool has said to the Duke of Clarence that he will take the Privy Seal if the King will ask him, but that the King has declared that he can never bring

himself to degrade himself and that high office so much as to solicit *Charles Jenkinson* to accept it. He said this to Dundas himself. But, says I, what if there is no other way of making a satisfactory arrangement? His answer was, If Mr. Pitt make a point of it, the King will do it, but it is a very ungracious task to urge him to it.

On Saturday evening I observed a circumstance in little Fred which gave me very particular pleasure. His mother has been teaching him the table of multiplication and little questions in addition and subtraction for some time. He has not begun to write, but she then told him she would teach him from that time to make his figures, and began putting the pen in his hand, and shewing him how to hold it. His little face on this was quite lighted up with eagerness and joy, and he looked to Charles and me with an air of the utmost delight. Indeed his passion for improvement, and particularly for knowledge of every sort, even at this early moment of his life, indicates an ardour of mind which will, I am satisfied, as he advances, require check and regulation rather than excitement.

The news which came from Paris on Saturday evening, by a messenger of Lord Malmesbury's, though not quite official or certain, is generally believed and has produced very general, if not universal joy. It is that the siege of Mantua is raised.¹

10 p.m.—Mr. Pitt, who has given notice that he will bring in his Poor Bill on Wednesday, has desired that I would meet him and Lord Auckland on the subject to-morrow at his house.

Dec. 21, Wednesday, 10 a.m., Bruton Street.—I went yesterday to Mr. Pitt's, where Lord Auckland and Mr. Lowndes also were appointed, on the subject of the Poor Bill. On my suggestion it was determined to generalise the Bill itself, and therefore abridge it, confining its clauses merely to the outline and principles of the intended improvement, and to throw all the details into schedules of rules and instructions. This will obviate in some degree the objections which were made to it

¹ The news was false. Mantua, which had already withstood a siege of more than six months, held out until the following February and then fell into the hands of the French.

in the form in which it was printed last year. For it was by most people thought to be so perplexed and complicated as not to be easily understood. It also seemed to be agreed that part of the establishment should be left optional to the different counties and districts. The view of this is that the whole expense may not at once be incurred, unless voluntarily.

Mr. Pitt is to move to bring it in to-morrow, and to bring it in and read it a first and second time and commit it *pro formâ*, that an order may pass for printing it, on whatever day next week the House may meet for the passing of the depending Bills before the holidays.

While Pitt was out of the room and Lord Auckland remained there *tête-à-tête*, I asked him if he was going to have the Privy Seal. He said, "I do not know what I am to have. I am of Pitt's opinion, that everything comes right in time. *We* shall all be satisfied if things go right. If they do not, we must share the common fate. I am not impatient." I said I made no scruple to confess that I was very impatient, and that I thought I had every reason to be so. On which he replied what struck me a good deal. "If," says he, "this *Treasuryship of the Navy* could be opened it would make an arrangement for us all very easy." I infer from thence that he not only is intriguing for himself to have that office, but that he supposed I was apprised in some degree of some negotiation, or at least of some plan of Pitt's respecting it. But I do not think Dundas will easily quit his hold of an office which from so long enjoyment he must consider in a manner as his estate, and I should be very sorry, and should think Pitt very unwise, if he were to urge any arrangement in a manner unsatisfactory to Dundas.

I am going to the levee this morning to give Dundas an opportunity to tell me whether he has yet fulfilled his promise of speaking to Pitt, and what has been the result.

11 *p.m.*—I conversed a good deal at the levee to-day with Lord Macartney and Fawkener on the subject of the present Czar.¹ He was but thirteen when Lord Macartney left Petersburg and was then, he says, a lively but odd boy. Fawkener,

¹ Paul I (1796-1801).

during four months he spent at Petersburg a few years ago, when he was sent on a commission from this Court, on occasion of what has been called the Russian armament, saw him frequently. He does not seem to think he wants understanding, but the Empress ¹ did not suffer [him] to interfere in any degree in business. Lord Macartney says when he travelled some years ago he was impressed with the strong belief that his mother would never suffer him to return to Russia, but in some way or other have him poisoned or murdered. This may account for the odd and ungracious sort of manner which was remarked in him during his travels. It was extraordinary that the first act of his government had been exactly a counterpart of what his father did immediately on his accession, namely an order that his troops shall all wear the Prussian uniform, an order which it is said will be particularly unpopular to the Russians. He is said to be, like his father, a professed admirer of the Prussians in everything. But he is also a professed abhorrer of Jacobinism. He has recalled the recruiting orders which had been issued by the Empress. In short, we cannot gain by his accession and shall probably lose. If the Court of Prussia prevail upon him to attack the Austrians, their co-operation with us must be, in the modern phrase, paralysed.

In the meantime he has professed to Sir Charles Whitworth ² that he meant to continue the present system, as acted on by his mother, and Monsieur de Cobenzl ³ has declared himself satisfied with what he has said to him. To the Swedish Minister he is said to have spoken ambiguously. Lord Macartney says he is known not to be the son of Peter the Third. Fawkener says his person (which is little rather) and his face are extremely coarse and vulgar, but that he has a sort of theatrical strut and air, like a strolling player caricaturing the part of a prince or emperor. His wife, who is sister to the Duke of Würtemberg, lately betrothed to our Princess Royal, is a handsome and agreeable woman.

¹ Catherine the Great, who had lately died.

² Our Ambassador at Petersburg.

³ Austrian Ambassador to Petersburg ; and a favourite of the Empress Catherine.

Dundas neither at Court to-day nor in the House of Commons mentioned whether he had kept his word by speaking to Pitt. I conclude he has not.

Yesterday Pitt undertook to read my observations relative to the poor again, and tell me whether he thought it would be advisable to publish it.

Dec. 23, Friday, Bruton Street.—I dined at Windham's. The company was Lord Palmerston, Sir William Scott, Mr. Malone, Tom Grenville, Dr. Burney, and myself. Much of the conversation turned on young Ireland's confession of his forgeries, which had just been published by Debrett.¹ It seems he denies having had any accomplice. Edwards, the bookseller, told me, when the discovery was first talked of, after professing his firm belief that it was all a cheat, that he believed Stevens was at the bottom of it.

Malone seems to think a Doctor Rennells or Reynolds is the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*. It seems he has lately published a sermon on the danger to the Protestant cause from the number of emigrant priests in this country, an opinion strongly inculcated in the *Pursuits of Literature*.²

Dec. 25, Sunday, 11 a.m., Bruton Street.—Yesterday morning a messenger arrived from Lord Malmesbury with information that the French Government had on Tuesday morning broke off the negotiation, and sent him notice to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. He had on Sunday transmitted two papers (which I believe had been carried over by Ellis) with a note signed by himself, containing propositions from this country. In the course of that day he was called to sign the two papers and also to deliver his ultimatum (so Lord Liverpool who was just come

¹ William Henry Ireland, whose forged Shakespeare manuscripts, made when he was still in his teens, had deceived many critics, though Edmund Malone, the famous Shakespearean scholar who was of the present company, had attacked their authenticity. Ireland's *Authentic Account* of his fraud, the book here referred to, was republished in an enlarged form, as *Confessions*, in 1805.

² The actual author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, a satirical poem, which, published in 1794, ran through a dozen editions in a decade, was Thomas James Mathias, otherwise known as an Italian scholar. The authorship of the *Pursuits*, which provoked many replies, was long a well-kept secret.

from the Cabinet stated the matter to me) or, I should rather suppose, to declare whether those papers or either of them contained the ultimatum of this Court. As to the signing the papers, he said he conceived them to be sufficiently authenticated by the note which accompanied and referred to them, and that the signing them would be contrary to diplomatic usage, but that, however, he had no objection to sign them. As to the other point, he said he would send an answer next morning, which answer was, that the two papers contained the proposals of this country, but that whatever variation or other terms the French Government might choose to state might be the subject of discussion. In reply he was informed on Tuesday morning that the Directory would not treat but on the ground of leaving the territory of the Republic, as decreed by the Constitution, unimpaired, and that if England should choose still to treat on that basis, the negotiation might be carried on, as indeed it had hitherto been, by messengers passing between the two Governments. The notice or order for his leaving Paris accompanied this reply. This news had produced by three o'clock considerable effect on the stocks. The new loan was then sold (as Everett the banker who had bought at that price informed me in the House of Commons) for a discount of three per cent., and the three per cents which had been the day before at 57 and a fraction for the opening had fallen to 54.

Mr. Pitt gave notice in the House that he should have a message to deliver on Monday, from the King, and various papers to lay before the House, and, in order that time might be given for their being printed, he should propose Thursday for taking them into consideration. This he stated, on a question being put by Sheridan or Tarleton whether an adjournment was still intended till the end of February, in order, as he said, that if it was, he must change Mr. Fox's notice of motion relative to the Sedition Bills, from the — [sic] to the 20th. Pitt, in answer, stated that he did not foresee that it would be necessary to alter the intended time of the adjournment, but that of this the House must judge. On this, Sheridan, after some remarks on the impropriety of thinking of any discussion

concerning the *calamitous* circumstance, of which reports were so general, without renewing the call of the House, gave notice that he should move for a call on the Thursday.

The House was very thin. Pitt and Dundas wore good countenances. Windham was not there, nor anybody belonging to the Opposition bench but Sheridan and Tarleton. The general report is that we proposed the *status ante bellum*, we keeping the *Cape and Ceylon*. I suppose the two papers, however, to have contained different propositions.

I believe I have stated in my separate memorandum of the conversation between Dundas and myself on 2nd September last, that Pitt having said to him as they rode to town that morning, "We must keep the Cape or Ceylon," he had answered, "*Both*." A Cabinet was held that morning at Lord Grenville's office,¹ to which Dundas went immediately after his conversation with me, for I walked with him from Parliament Street to Downing Street.

I do not think the public will in general approve of making the possession of both settlements a *sine quâ non*. But Dundas has pledged himself very deeply on the subject of the Cape. The other day, when he moved for or brought in his Bill for exempting the Cape from the navigation laws, he said it was a possession which he hoped this country would never part with. In his conversation with me, to which I have just referred, he repeated what he had so often said, that he would not continue of the Cabinet to join in giving it up. Such declarations are not discreet, nor wise, and those who make them seldom abide by them. In summer, Dundas seemed to be indulging, or at least entertaining, the prospect of retreat and a peerage. Can his motive for those declarations be to bind himself as it were, and furnish himself a ground for quitting the House of Commons, which (without some strong plea) he cannot for a long time expect to do with Mr. Pitt's consent?

Yesterday, in the House, Mr. Dundas said he wished to speak to me or Lady Katherine, that he believed it would be best he should see her. After this, however, he took me aside,

¹ The Foreign Office.

saying he thought he now saw daylight in my business. Then after telling me that the plan of the post-office for Lord Mornington could not take place, as that office is not tenable with Parliament, he asked me how Lady Katherine stood with the Bishop of Winchester. I said as uncle and niece very well, but that there was no sort of political intercourse between them. He then said : Mr. Hopkins would retire if he could obtain an object he had long had at heart for a brother or some near relation, of preferment in the Church to the amount of about £400, that Mr. Pitt was so extremely embarrassed with engagements for livings that he could not at present gratify Hopkins, but that if the Bishop of Winchester would promise a prebendary (not immediately) but with some reasonable expectation, Mr. Pitt might then provide for Hopkin's friend, by giving the benefit of the Bishop's engagement to some other claimant. I neither encouraged nor discouraged this proposal, though I could not but feel that it was in truth an offer to give me now, for an expectant preferment of £400 a year for leave, the place during pleasure which I was entitled to more than two years ago, unclogged with any condition. On the whole, when we separated, it was thought best that Dundas should mention the subject himself to Lady Katherine, and he is to desire to see her on Monday. I found her indisposed and in bed when I came home, and not likely to be able for some days to see either the Bishop or Mr. Dundas. Lady Guilford is at her son's at Waldershare. I dislike going to the Bishop myself, and we agreed to beg the favour of Mr. Williams to see him on the business. This he has undertaken, and I have this moment received a note from him to inform me that the Bishop has given him an appointment for two to-day, after which he is to call upon me. If the thing takes place, I will endeavour, for the Bishop's sake as well as my own, to have it understood that the favour done will be done to the Government, not to me.

Mr. Williams says he will plead engagements and give a direct negative, but he added that if Lord Guilford had had a son in the Church, he must have given him the first living in his power. I mentioned that he has given a prebendary to his

brother Lord Dartmouth's son, and another to his sister Lady Willoughby's son-in-law, Mr. Barnard. Lady Katherine is the eldest daughter of the brother who gave him the Bishopric. But I added that the motives which might occur as what should operate with the Bishop are so obvious as not to require any great enlargement.

4.30 *p.m.*—Mr. Williams called on me at three, and the Bishop has in the kindest manner agreed to give the first vacant stall to the recommendation of Mr. Pitt. When the old gentleman told me this, his eyes were full of tears. He had mentioned to the Bishop the circumstances of the disappointment as to Lord Mornington's seat, and that Mr. Pitt, in his anxiety to have me at the Treasury Board, had thought of the method proposed for inducing Hopkins to vacate. He represented to him that this was an opportunity of procuring an honourable establishment for Lady Katherine (and her family) *whom he knew to be his brother's favourite child*. The Bishop said *he knew she was*, and desired him to tell her that he had as much pleasure in complying with the application as the success of it could give her. Lady Katherine is indisposed and keeps her bed, but I thought that it would give them both pleasure if she were to see him and he went upstairs to her bedroom.

With his advice I wrote a note to Dundas to tell him I had some reason to think the arrangement proposed might be practicable, and desiring to call upon him, and he has appointed me to breakfast with him to-morrow about nine o'clock.

Jan. 2, Monday, 10 p.m.—Dined at Sir William Scott's¹—very agreeable and instructive as might be expected. The company was Mr. King, the American minister, a well-behaved, agreeable, sensible man, and appearing and reckoned to be of the party attached to this country, Windham, the Speaker, Grant, who was beginning to thaw before we broke up, Lord Mornington, Mr. Trumbull, one of the three American Commissioners who was here two years ago as secretary to Jay and was originally a painter.² The large full length print of Washington is from a picture painted by him. He was prisoner here last war. He is modest and awkward. Lord Mornington, Malone, and myself and a clergyman, whose name I did not hear.

We talked over domestic matters, as far as the different merits in point of abilities and eloquence of the different public speakers. Fox, Pitt and others down to Michael Angelo Taylor³ passed in review, but all voices joined in giving the palm for the richest fancy, the most profound views, and the most playful humour to Burke. It is true we were in the house of a friend and had in company a disciple, nay, an apostle of his.⁴

¹ Afterwards Lord Stowell. He held many important legal offices and was a great authority on maritime law. He was brother to Lord Eldon, the famous Tory Lord Chancellor.

² John Trumbull (1756-1843). He had been in England several times before; in 1794 he was appointed secretary to Jay. He painted at least three portraits of Washington.

³ A politician who sat in the House, first as a Tory and later as Whig, for fifty years. He is rarely spoken of with much respect by his contemporaries.

⁴ Windham.

Jan. 3, Tuesday, 4 p.m., Bruton Street.—Mr. Charles Townshend told me to-day, talking of the supposed consequence of Burke's bill in obliging Government to reward or purchase by honours those who formerly were satisfied with sinecure places now abolished, that on an occasion when Fox in the House of Commons had mentioned some inconvenience which had attended that bill (although with a general panegyric) Burke said to Mr. Townshend, "They ought not to abuse me for that bill for they know that Dunning¹ crammed it down my throat." This was after Burke had separated from Fox on the French Revolution.

I either heard Burke say, or was told by the late Lord Guilford that he had said to him, "That bill is one of my sins."

Jan. 4, Wednesday, 8 p.m., Bruton Street.—I was at a Council at St. James's to-day. Neither Pitt, Dundas nor Lord Liverpool were there.

There was no conversation before the Council but on the subject of the French fleet on the coast of Ireland. The courtiers appeared to me more sanguine than the Ministers. William Elliot, who is come over on his mother's death, shewed me this morning a short letter from Cooke,² in his manner, very stout except for the North. When the sovereign of Belfast proposed to the leading persons to take measures for opposing the French, they answered by talking of reform. Elliot says the regular troops are very few indeed. Thirteen regiments on paper—mere skeletons. What is become of the clamour about the 17,000 effectives? Cooke, in his old way, urges Elliot to press the Ministers for troops for the North. "The North, the North, the North." He would have them sent to Liverpool in chaises and mail-coaches. *Ce n'est pas là la marche de nos fonctionnaires*—and where are those troops, and the money to answer such an expensive conveyance? Elliot, who has seen the Ministers, says they will not send any.

¹ John Dunning, Solicitor-General from 1768 to 1770; created Lord Ashburton in 1782.

² Edward Cooke, M.P. for Leighlin, and at this time Under-Secretary in the Irish Civil Department. Later he was at the Foreign Office under Castlereagh, who placed great reliance on his abilities.

Lord Malmesbury had a long audience of the King. I saw him for a minute. He says La Croix is a civil well-looking man about his age. That he was a private tutor. He lives in a magnificent hotel, rue du Bacq. Fawkener said to Windham as he stood by Lord Malmesbury, "I suppose there is no man in England so glad to see Lord Malmesbury here as you."

Jan. 5, Thursday, 10.30 a.m., Bruton Street.—I found at Lord Orford's the two Berrys, the eldest with her eagle eyes and manner—if not to *threaten*, to *command*; Agnes more mild if less beautiful; Mrs. Walpole and a clergyman in her train whose name I did not hear, but who contributed to the reigning topic of the day, having been at Bantry and Bear or Beer Island. Lord Orford told me the news of 2 o'clock as he had received it from Lord Althorp, who had been sent on purpose to him by his father [Lord Spencer]. Yet his account was more advantageous and circumstantial than the intelligence warranted as I collected it from Lord Spencer himself about 3 at the Council. I am well persuaded of the veracity of Lord Orford and Lord Althorp. Whence then this discrepancy, as the Scotch lawyers call it? It arises from the disposition of mankind in general to combine what is verified with what is reported, and what is given or perhaps occurs in the form of probable conjecture, into one narrative, without marking the different grounds on which the various assertions of which it is composed are evidence.

The ladies soon quitted the invasion of Ireland, and entered, learned as some of them are, on the subject of novels—*Les lettres écrites de Lausanne*, *Caroline de Lichtfeld* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Agnes Berry scolded me (good-naturedly) for liking the second part of the letters from Lausanne. She could not conceive anything more absurd or unnatural than all that history of Calista. I made the best retreat I could, but Mrs. Walpole entered the field which I had deserted, and expressed equal admiration of Calista's story as wonder at the singularity of a contrary opinion. The elder Berry, whose words would announce the wisdom of Minerva, if a sense of her own beauty did not to nice observers mingle some emulation of the attributes

of a less awful goddess, observed that what charmed her in the first part of the book was the exact picture it exhibited of Swiss manners, painted with all the minute truth of the Flemish school; while in the second the authoress had fallen into every sort of mistake and solecism in her attempt to describe the scenes and characters and modes of living in England.

On the mention of Caroline de Lichtfeld, I asked the ladies if they really believed that she became at last *de bonne foi* in love with her husband. They were unanimous that she did, and Mrs. Walpole said that after knowing his amiable qualities and attachment she did not think the defects of his person could make any difference. "What," says her uncle, "there was scarce one half of him left entire." That she thought made no difference. What remained was, and the whole had been, handsome. Lord Orford would not controvert her individual way of thinking, but believed very few ladies would think the half of a handsome man enough, and that to judge of what was gone from what remained was sufficient. I rather inclined to his opinion, and doubted whether the foot of Hercules (though it proved itself to belong to him) was as good as Hercules himself.

Soon after Mrs. Damer¹ came in, whom I do not recollect having been in a private room with before. She is handsome I think and agreeable. Mrs. Walpole asked Lord Orford if he had ever happened to read Voltaire's Criticism on Rousseau. I ventured to say to Miss Berry that though there was much wit in Voltaire yet he never attained to eloquence equal to that of Rousseau. She agreed, and professed the utmost admiration (and without expressing any salvo) of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. Lord Orford, who was in another part of the circle, and did not catch our conversation at that moment, was saying in the meantime that he had never been able to get over the most unnatural circumstance of marrying the young and handsome Julie to old Wolmar.

Miss Berry and Mrs. Damer were full of complaints against the Cavalry Bill, and I am ashamed to own that they were better

¹ Anne Seymour Damer, daughter of Horace Walpole's cousin and greatest friend, Field-Marshal Henry Seymour Conway, and a sculptress whose work was much admired by her contemporaries.

qualified to attack than I was to defend. I confessed I had never read it (which Miss Berry did not let pass without a little comment). Some more general *fronderies* accompanied their arguments on this particular measure, and Miss Berry mentioned Mr. Pitt and the consolation *that there is no lane so long as not to have a turning*.

For want of better information I account for this tinge of opposition by the secession or removal of the Duke of Richmond.¹ But, pray, Miss Berry, beware of personal spleen if you are going into opposition. The winning sweetness of Mrs. Bouverie's countenance and smiles are not sufficient to correct the virulence of her discourse on political subjects. Your sterner graces may perhaps frighten us into forgetfulness of your beauty instead of awing us over to your opinion. She made all up to me by praising Lady Katherine.

From Lord Orford's I went to the Barnards'. It is melancholy to think they are going now in a few days.² Barnard would make me a present of a little book they were reading called *Vortigern and Rowena*, consisting of a sort of portrait (in ancient style part prose part blank verse) of some of the remarkable persons of the times. Lady Margaret recommended them as clever, which I considered as much in their favour, and some she pointed out appeared to me very good. They are at least curious in one respect: they touch upon some of the most remarkable passages which concern and characterise the different dramatic persons, such, for instance, as Mrs. Montagu's annual dinner to the chimney-sweepers, etc. I intend to interleave the book and write down dates and circumstances, and then it will form a sort of private history. There is of course more satire than panegyric, though there is a good deal of that—much partiality, but I think not of a party sort as far as I have hitherto seen. There are two little volumes and it is already the fifth edition.

¹ Pitt had dismissed the Duke from his office of Master General of the Ordnance, which he had held, with a seat in the Cabinet, for twelve years, in 1795, the reason being that he had ceased to attend Cabinet meetings.

² To the Cape, where Lady Anne's husband, Andrew Barnard, had been appointed secretary to the Governor, Lord Macartney.

Mr. Malone tells me that Gerard Hamilton's¹ executor has found in MSS. all his speeches both in Ireland and here, and also a tract on public speaking and that they are preparing for the press.

Jan. 6, Friday, 11 a.m., Bruton Street.—The last time I was at Lord Mendip's I mentioned the above circumstance of Hamilton's manuscripts to him and Charles Townshend. I think they both had heard him speak, and so had Mr. Malone, and I collected from them all that, though it was clear that every word had been prepared and premeditated and got by heart, the effect, when he spoke, was very great. His delivery was particularly rapid, but it carried his hearers with equal rapidity, and although he appeared agitated, almost like our ideas of a pythoress, and foamed at the mouth, there was so much sense and eloquence and point and those so distinctly marked in what he uttered and in his mode of uttering it, that you found, at the time at least, no room for anything but admiration. Lord Mendip mentioned the following as a well known fact, to confirm what he remarked on the variety of his diction. After one of his great speeches in Ireland, a country gentleman having come out of the House into a company who asked him what was doing in the House, answered, "By Jesus, I have left the Secretary there *speaking all the words in the Dictionary.*"

Jan. 8, 9 p.m., Mr. Sutton's, Moulsey.—I came to the Pheasantry this morning to look at the *mansion house* (a cottage of two rooms), the *farm* (six acres), the *kitchen, fruit and flower gardens* (in all not an acre) and the *pleasure grounds* (about twelve acres), after the late severe weather. I conversed with my steward Mr. Tryce Okey, and my *head (and only) gardener* (and labourer) Bennet. I examined the *river* with its *four bridges*, and found that all was right and in good order. I then proceeded to this place to dinner, and have had a very pleasant day with my old friend Sutton, and Mrs. Sutton, whom I think

¹ William Gerard Hamilton, known as "Single-speech Hamilton." Irish Secretary from 1761 to 1764 and Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer from 1763 to 1784. He died in 1796. Some people believed him the author of *Junius*. His manuscripts, which Malone edited, were published with the title of *Parliamentary Logick*.

much more agreeable in this family way than in a mixed company. Our conversation has turned much on the education of children. Mrs. Sutton has begun to read Locke, which Sutton and I have strongly recommended to her, and I was happy in such an opportunity of doing justice to the excellent system (and what is still more rare) the excellent and successful practice of Lady Katherine.

Jan. 10, 11 p.m. [? a.m.], Bruton Street.—About 9 last night I received from Mr. Pitt a letter to announce that my seat at the Treasury is “*at length*” settled. As this letter is short, I will transcribe it here, that it may be the more easily accessible to me when I wish to turn to it. It is dated yesterday from Holwood.

“*Private.*”

“DEAR SIR,

“I feel very peculiar satisfaction being at length enabled to acquaint you that Mr. Hopkins has acceded to my proposal, and that there is nothing now to prevent your appointment to a seat at the Treasury in the course of the present week.

“From the correspondence I have had with Lord Carrington I am persuaded no inconvenience will arise with respect to the vacating your seat. I will only add that in addition to the pleasure it gives me that you should be relieved from so long a suspense, I am happy in the prospect of having an additional opportunity of availing myself of your assistance, of which I have already felt, on more occasions than one, the advantage.

“Believe me, dear Sir,

“faithfully and sincerely yours,

“W. PITT.”

Are the last words of Mr. Pitt’s letter mere civility, or do they refer to what Dundas threw out one day, that Pitt wishes for assistance in the details of the Treasury, and has even sometimes mooted with him the practicability of having a Chancellor of the Exchequer with himself (still remaining a Commoner) first

Lord? I went to tell the Bishop of Winchester the substance of Pitt's note. He received me with great kindness, so that his manner confirmed a sentiment which his niece and I have often discussed and in which we have always concurred, namely that one likes the person one has obliged, or one's own good action in the object of it. This principle is perhaps the strongest proof of the sociability of our nature.

7 p.m., *Bruton Street*.—I met Trail this morning and shewed him Pitt's letter. He said he thought it was expressed in very obliging terms. I said I thought so and that it was a proof that a person who has been in the wrong to you may sometimes not be out of humour with you. If I had not been conscious that I made this remark in perfect good humour, and only as matter of pleasantry, I should have felt it to be illiberal.

Trail has heard from Coleman (who hears much of the *nouvelles circulantes* of the Court and St. James's Street) that the arrangements which have been mentioned of placing either Lord Auckland or Lord Westmorland in the Cabinet have been stopped by a declaration of Lord Grenville that he will not sit in the Cabinet with either.

10.30 p.m.—This morning I called on Windham. He seems running over with spleen against that part of the Ministry who have been for negotiating. I think he wishes to renew confidential intercourse with me, and to engage me in his sentiments on the conduct of the war and his ill-humour with Pitt and Dundas, particularly the latter, against whom his dislike dates from before his accession to the present Ministry. But his cold, unkind, and cautelous refusal to come to me or see me, when my private interest and honour were concerned, and had appealed to whatever claims I had on him from long and familiar acquaintance—at the time when he was flushed with his new dignity of Cabinet Minister and might have served me at least by his advice, perhaps by his interposition—this conduct has shut the door I believe for ever on all intimate communication of sentiments from me to him. Add to this that he is at present a second hand Minister put in motion by Burke for the purpose of thwarting, or at least counteracting by out of doors conversation,

that Cabinet of which he still remains a member and of which he must be considered as adopting the measures.

Jan. 22, Sunday, 7 a.m., Bruton Street.—At the Duke of Portland's dinner Wednesday last (the Queen's birthday) Lord Liverpool, who sat next Charles Townshend, told him that the Duke of Clarence had got Bushey Park. Mr. Townshend said he thought the King was prudish on the point of kept mistresses living in his houses. That had been the ground held out for taking the Deputy Rangership of Richmond Park from Meadows, and he would have made Brummell give up his apartments in Hampton Court Palace if he had not removed the objection by marrying his mistress. Lord Liverpool said, "Things are altered, and the Duke of Clarence has managed so well that the King jokes with him about Mrs. Jordan."

I communicated to Lord Guilford my ideas about the propriety of collecting materials for his father's Life, and writing it, and he concurred and seemed to have anticipated them. We are to collect and write down hints each as he finds opportunity or leisure. He is to write the Life if he is not too lazy. If not, I am to do it.¹ He objected that he had not been used to write, which I think with his education and talents of reading and of composing (though by heart) his speeches, is no objection. He has a very good taste, and as I told him his is a family of authors.

Jan. 25, Wednesday, 8 p.m., Bruton Street.—I had notice from Mr. Pitt yesterday, by a note dated 3 p.m., that he was writing to the King, so as that I might kiss hands to-day.

I have accordingly kissed his Majesty's hand to-day. He said, "I am very glad of it—you will be of great use. I have long wished to see you in a situation. You have shown a great deal of temper and patience." I answered, "Sir, these are the most flattering words I ever heard (considering who said them they were). I will never forget them."

Jan. 26, Thursday, 9 a.m., Bruton Street.—Lord Cornwallis has agreed to go again to India. The case is certainly *nodus dignus vindice*, and that he should undertake the task is an

¹ This book was never written.

instance of self-devotion hardly to be equalled by any instance in authentic history.

I found from Cabell yesterday that it had been put to Lord Cornwallis in a very strong way. If he would not, Dundas must and would go. Then Pitt and the other Ministers said it was impossible to let Dundas quit his official and parliamentary situation. There has been a correspondence on the subject, which Cabell had seen.

The King was particularly attentive to Lord Cornwallis yesterday at the levee.

Jan. 31, 9 a.m., Pheasantry.—I saw the Duke of Clarence yesterday at the Great Lodge with Mrs. Jordan and two children, a boy, like herself but less ugly, and a little girl.

Feb. 1, Wednesday, 10 p.m., Bruton Street.—I had been to sit an hour with the Bishop of Winchester and his family. He has the gout in his leg and a gouty cough, but he is in spirits. He talked a great deal about Naples.

The government as practised is the worst in the world. To instance the administration of justice. The prisons are crowded, and the trials only brought on when the criminal can no longer furnish money to purchase delay. You may have a new trial as often as you can pay the expected sum, and have your sentence successively softened from death to the galleys and a pardon. Sir William Hamilton told him two remarkable cases as authentic—one of a man who had long been confined for a capital offence. At last his trial came on—they are held without the presence of the party. This man was condemned to death. But when the officer went to the prison to enquire for him and carry the sentence into execution it turned out that he had died a natural death two years before. The other instance was of a man condemned to the galleys for homicide for ten years. He had a substitute who had been the galley-slave serving for him by proxy eight years (at the time when the principal was pointed out by Sir William Hamilton to the Bishop) at the price of about two shillings a day. The principal is a substantial baker, or of some other trade, and Sir William assured them that he had actually the promise of the first vacancy in his line as one of the

King's tradesmen. This man lived at Caserta near the Palace. Yet he says the people are happy and wish for no change. They require no clothing but a pair of trousers ; no house but a shed covered with a few loose tiles. They can live well for three halfpence a day, and therefore may get enough for the week in one day.

Feb. 2, Thursday, 9 a.m., Bruton Street.—Lord Spencer is gone to Bath for a week. The Bishop of Winchester who must know him very well (Mrs. North for the sake of *ton*, as well as other reasons, having been a great acquaintance of the Devonshire House party and connection and therefore of the Lucans and Bingham¹) says Lord Spencer is very nervous and suffers in his spirits when any thing falls out ill in his department.

Ambition should be made of sterner stuff.

He says his early popularity in office arose much from his punctual answering of letters, but he added a just observation that there are *cons* as well as *pros* on this point—answers to frivolous letters produce replies and give a sort of claim to everybody who chooses to tease you with a letter.

I have always felt that there was a degree of self-sufficiency in Lord Spencer's taking Lord Chatham's place² (viewing the transaction with all its circumstances) which nothing but very superior fitness, and success even, could justify.

Lord Westmorland says the King never sees his Ministers but on levee or drawing room days or when there are Hanging Cabinets at Buckingham House (unless when there are intrigues and secret negotiations on ministerial arrangements going forward). His situation and his prying curious temper gives him, I should think, tolerable means of knowing this. He does not believe Pitt has ever seen the King in private ten times.

The King talked a great deal that day about the Jesuits to

¹ Lord Spencer was brother to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and married Lady Lavinia Bingham, daughter of the Earl of Lucan.

² As First Lord of the Admiralty. The diarist's stricture is curious, for the six years during which Spencer was at the Admiralty were, as the *D.N.B.* says, "the most stirring, the most glorious in our naval history, so that for him, more distinctly perhaps than for any other English administrator, may be claimed the title of organiser of victory."

Monsignor Erskine and Jacobi, and mentioned a singular anecdote which he said had been related to him by the Baron de Breteuil. Mr. de Choiseul had expelled the Jesuits. Breteuil and thirteen other persons who had all been educated by the Jesuits met accidentally at dinner one day at Chanteloup, Choiseul's country seat, to which he had been exiled, and those fourteen, on asking each other the question, acknowledged that they had never learned from their Jesuit preception any of the dangerous moral principles imputed to them, nor ever received any instruction which they did not now on recollection think useful and important, or which they wished not to have learned, or to have forgot.

Feb. 3, Friday, 4.30 a.m., in bed, Bruton Street.—I was prevented by business from going to Court yesterday, and did not hear till I went to dinner at Lord Douglas's that Dundas was ill. It seems he has been so ever since last Sunday, having been seized at Lord Cornwallis's in Suffolk. I went to Somerset Place after dinner, and could only learn from the servant that he had been and continues very ill. He called it a severe cold, affecting his throat. Lord Douglas had heard it was a violent bowel complaint. He is attended by Sir Walter Farquhar.¹ Pitt had been at Somerset Place a quarter of an hour before I called, but he had not been able to see him (he had seen him in the morning). The servant said his great complaint was want of sleep. He also informed me Lady Jane² had been very ill for about a week, but was got better. It would seem her speech has been affected, for the footman said, "She has recovered her speech very much." These details interest me from many motives private and public. I have found Dundas, throughout, frank (as far as a Minister can or ought to be, and as is compatible with ministerial habit), warm-hearted, and in the pledge given to me, about two years ago, as far as appears to have depended on him, a vigilant and honest trustee though for so long a time unsuccessful. The interest in his life and health which the

¹ Physician in ordinary to the Prince of Wales; created a baronet in 1796.

² Dundas had married, as his second wife, Lady Jane Hope, daughter of the second Earl of Hopetoun.

public, the King and his Ministers have at the present juncture can hardly be estimated or over valued.

Mrs. Crewe¹ dined at Lord Douglas's yesterday. She is an odd woman. Lady Douglas observed to me that her ideas came so quick that she could not follow them, nor she believed Mrs. Crewe herself. She is still pretty though grown very fat and with a considerable quantity of visible down about her mouth. Her hair and eyes are dark. Her admiration of Burke, and the vanity of being his friend has made her (since the epoch of the alarm) a professed *aristocrate*, but her original predilection for Fox and his politics remains. She sees a great deal of the Duke of Portland, but her society at home must chiefly be of the adherents of Fox, to whom Crewe is devoted. She stated to us the reigning topics with Opposition against the war, and the conduct of it, and against Pitt, as the general talk of the world, in town, and in Cheshire and Lancashire. She met Burke going to Bath. It seems his complaint has been suspected to be a scirrhus of the stomach, but that Warren² has lately pronounced that not to be the case.

Feb. 4, 8.30 a.m., Bruton Street.—Dundas was still very ill yesterday. Cabell had heard at his house that his most alarming symptom is want of sleep and a nervous affliction in his head—no sore throat nor bowel complaint as Lord Douglas had heard.

King, of the Court of Chancery, told me yesterday that he despairs of Burke. He had a weakly stomach and constitution, he says, when he was young, but grew strong and healthy. Of late years his old complaints have returned. I yesterday gave notice that I would not attend any more commissions of bankruptcy.

To-day the Great Seal was at last affixed to the new Treasury patent, at a general seal in the Court of Chancery. It bears date yesterday.

¹ Frances Anne Grenville, Mrs., afterwards Lady Crewe, was one of the most conspicuous social figures of her time; a great beauty, whom Reynolds loved to paint, and the friend of Fox, Burke, Sheridan and Fanny Burney.

² Presumably Richard Warren, physician to the Prince of Wales, who died this year.

The Duke of Montrose told me he had proposed me at White's.

Feb. 8, Wednesday, 9 a.m., Bruton Street.—Mr. Cabell told me yesterday the history of the Prince of Wales's dinner on Monday last given him by the Directors of the East India Company. The Prince has been in the habit of dining with Sir Lionel Darrell at Richmond. The other day the corps raised by the Company and officered by themselves was reviewed by the Prince. At the time of the review Lt.-Col. Sir Lionel Darrell brought a message from his Royal Highness to Col. Mr. David Scott (the Chairman) desiring they would give him a dinner. This was a command, and they thought it necessary to follow the etiquette which prevails when he is the guest of any private person, to desire him to name the company. He sent a list, of which Cabell has given me a copy. None of the Ministers, several of whom are of the Board of Control—not Mr. Dundas. No other member of the Board was on the list or invited—*Mr. Hastings*¹ was on the list, was sent for to the country, and dined there. There was also there a Mr. Day, who has been in disgrace, and I believe under prosecution by the Company.

Cabell says a party is formed in which Sir Lionel Darrell (who is a silly fellow) is embarked underhand, to turn Grant out of the Direction, and place one Shakespeare (also under a cloud with the India Government) in his room. Sir Lionel has been sent on to make the Prince an instrument in this, who probably on the other hand thinks he can or is advised to make them and the opposition in the India House the instruments of his present hostility to the Ministers.

Before Lord Macartney left London he said to Charles Townshend, conversing on the present state of India affairs, "There is no salvation for India but by Lord Cornwallis's going there." To which Townshend replied, "I think you will hardly catch him at that." He told this immediately after to Lord Cornwallis who said nothing, but two days after he agreed to go.

¹ Warren Hastings.

Feb. 12, Sunday, 11 a.m., Pheasantry.—Tuesday last I attended the first Board of Treasury. Smyth, my neighbour and the junior Lord before me, desired me to call on him before I went. He said, "You will find the office quite a sinecure. There are seldom Boards. Mr. Pitt does all the material business at his own house, signs the papers, and then two other Lords sign them of course. Other business the Secretaries judge of without carrying it to him, and lay the papers on the table and circulate them for signature to any of the Lords." He said he had not seen Pitt at a Board he did not know when.

That day we were but two Lords, though the professed purpose was to receive the new Commission. It is very general, of about a dozen lines, referring to the former and granting all the powers and authority "of the Treasurer of the Exchequer."

The book of matters then before the Board, with the date written against each when the memorial letter, etc., was received, was then taken by Smyth, who read the items one by one, when Rose chiefly or Long mentioned something of the subject—or said Mr. Pitt had, or would decide upon it—or that it must be postponed, on which Smyth ticked it off. In short to an ignorant person he would have appeared to be the Secretary and Rose and Long the Board.¹ I asked a few questions, chiefly from curiosity and in explanation of matter of form.

On Thursday and Friday more formal Boards were held, for Pitt as well as Smyth and I attended, and civilians were heard on the part of certain claimants to share in the proceeds of the East India ships captured near St. Helena before the King had granted letters of marque, and therefore before the Prize Act attached. Pitt's manner I thought awkward and not judicial, but his questions and observations were those so able a man might be expected to make. He seemed to have read the memorials with more attention than Rose, and not unwilling to show that he had.

¹ George Rose and Charles Long were joint Secretaries to the Treasury. Subsequently they both held a number of other offices, and Long was created Lord Farnborough in 1820.

Feb. 16, Thursday, 11 a.m., Bruton Street.—I was yesterday chosen a member of White's. The great promoters of my election have been Mr. Williams, Lord Douglas, and the Duke of Montrose.

Feb. 27, 8 a.m., Bruton Street.—I slept at Godalming on Tuesday last and proceeded to Midhurst next morning, when I was re-elected¹ and dined with Lord Carrington, Mr. Serjeant and various farmers and tradesmen, burgage-holders and voters. In the evening I slept again at Godalming, tempted by the lateness of the hour (10 o'clock) and the goodness of the inn not to go on to the Pheasantry as I had intended. My election has not cost me a halfpenny except the expense of the journey.

The gloom that prevails among all ranks and classes seems to increase every day. Government cannot dispose of their new Exchequer Bills issued in anticipation of the late loan, and the subscriptions to the loan have fallen under 10 per cent discount, so that it is more the interest of the original holders to forfeit the first payment they have made than to make good the subsequent payments. The 3 per cents were in the course of last week at 51 and a fraction, lower than ever was known at any former period. A new loan is necessary but Pitt has not yet been able to negotiate it, and, as every incident in such a state of things serves to increase the panic, general consternation was excited on Saturday by intelligence received from Lord Milford, the Lord Lieutenant of Pembrokehire, that in the evening of Wednesday the 22nd three French frigates had appeared off that coast, from whence 1,200 troops with 3,000 stand of arms had been landed at the little seaport town of Fishguard.

Yesterday despatches arrived from Lord Milford with an account that two parties of 300 and 1,100 French had on the 24th surrendered to the peasants and supplementary Militia of the county, and were then on their march to Haverfordwest. By other letters it appears that Lord Cawdor² had been very active in putting himself at the head of the Militia.

¹ Member for Midhurst, on his appointment to an office of profit under the Crown.

² John Campbell, who had been created Lord Cawdor in the previous year.

Last night we had a great batch of Shakespeare, Voltaire, Ariosto, Roscoe, etc., with the two Berrys, who came in the evening, and Lady Margaret, who had dined here. Roscoe¹ is in town and had dined several times with the Berrys. They say his manner and language are unaffected, but vulgar. They showed us a very pretty translation of Machiavel's pretty *Capitola dell'Occasione*, by Roscoe, in MSS.

Lady Margaret enlarged on the gross faults and absurdities in Shakespeare, which put us all in such a rage that we would not allow any merit in Voltaire's beautiful imitation and improvement, as she with much plausibility contended, of Othello's speech when he kills himself in the speech of Orasmane.

March 4, Saturday, 11 a.m., Bruton Street.—The riddle² is now solved. It appears, by accounts from France, that the French landed in Pembrokeshire were galley slaves and other criminals taken from the jails, armed and landed for the purpose of burdening this country with their maintenance, and exposing us to the effects of their wickedness and crimes. It is intended to send them back as fast as possible, Government having wisely rejected their offer to enlist in our service.

Yesterday morning arrived the glorious news of Sir John Jervis, with 15 ships of the line, having defeated off Lagos Bay, on the coast of Portugal, the Spanish fleet of 27 ships of the line, and taken four, two of 112, one of 80 and one of 74 guns.³

History scarcely furnishes an example of such a victory with such superiority of the enemy. In a letter from Captain H. Whitshed⁴ to Mrs. Whitshed we had in addition to the public joy the delight of reading that Jamie Gordon⁵ "*had behaved*

¹ William Roscoe, author of the *Lives of the Medici*, and at various times a market-gardener, an attorney, a banker, a member of Parliament and a bankrupt.

² The news of the landing of the French at Fishguard.

³ This was the famous battle of Cape St. Vincent, fought on Feb. 14, as a reward for which Jervis received a pension and an earldom, taking his title from the scene of his victory.

⁴ James Hawkins Whitshed, who, rising steadily in the service, was created a baronet in 1834 and ten years later, when over eighty, became admiral of the fleet.

⁵ The diarist's grand-nephew.

with infinite spirit." I immediately sent this account to his grandfather, as a certain cordial, and Lady Katherine did the same to his father, and in the evening I got Nepean's promise to get Sir John Jervis to make him a lieutenant.

This news occasioned a great flatness on the Opposition side of the debate last night on Mr. Whitbread's motion for an enquiry into the conduct of Administration relating to the defence of Ireland, when the French fleet was off that coast.

10 *p.m.*—Poor little Fred this evening made the following stanza :

WINTER

The Iris dies,
The Sea doth rise,
The Cuckoo flies away—
The Winds do blow,
The Clouds do snow,
And we are not so gay.

In repeating them to his Mama and Aunties, while I was asleep by them after dinner, he explained the propriety of the examples he had chosen, and particularly mentioned that the cuckoo is a bird of passage. Fred this day wants four days of six years and a month. The little phenomenon of these verses, while it delights, produces also some sentiments of anxiety lest my dearest boy should increase the number of those premature understandings, which like hot-house plants surprise us with their unseasonable beauty and fragrance, but disappoint our hopes by an early decay, before they reach the vigour which accompanies a more tardy but more natural growth.

The conversation which this incident has produced, brought to Lady Katherine's memory two lines which Lady Charlotte [North] made when quite a child, and which Hare has been particularly fond of citing as containing a very happy and ingenious thought.

Beauty without virtue can not charm the soul—
Virtue's the punch, and beauty but the bowl.

Lord Orford (longer and better known by the name of Horace Walpole) died at his house in Berkeley Square the night before

last. He had been from nearly the time I last saw him in a state of palsy, with a succession of imposthumes, and much pain, and a great imbecility or loss of memory, of which he was sensible, so that his condition was lamentable and his death a real relief to himself and his friends. It is said he has left Strawberry Hill and the best part of his disposable property to Mrs. Damer.¹

March 7, 10 p.m., Bruton Street.—Lord and Lady Dartmouth and Lord Lewisham, Lady Willoughby de Broke and Lady Clermont have been here this evening. Lady Dartmouth says she hears the Princess of Wales is quite broken hearted, and has given up the contest to the Prince, whose brutality is more insufferable every day. She mentioned various anecdotes to confirm this.

March 12, Sunday, 10 p.m., Pheasantry.—Sir Gilbert Elliot called on us yesterday. He is quite well and the same man as ever. He was in the *Lively* frigate during Sir John Jervis's engagement and victory off Lagos Bay and gave us a very particular description of it. Colonel Drinkwater, who wrote the history of the siege of Gibraltar, was also on board the *Lively*, and is preparing for the press a description and several drawings taken at different points of time and corrected by a variety of information from those who were in different parts of the fleet.²

By Sir Gilbert's account the Spanish fleet is terribly ill-manned, and the crews, officers as well as men, so filthy that every hair seems alive with vermin. He thinks it impossible they should attempt coming to Brest.

Lady Katherine told me to-day that she had learned in confidence from Mrs. V[ernon] the reason why the design of putting her in the list of those who form the Princess of Wales's parties was dropped. One hundred were first named, and settled by the King and Queen. The Princess wished to add another

¹ Walpole left to Anne Seymour Damer, daughter of his friend Henry Seymour Conway, and a sculptress whom her contemporaries admired, a life interest in Strawberry Hill, with £2,000 for its upkeep, and made her his executrix and residuary legatee.

² Published as a *Narrative of the Battle of St. Vincent*. The author, Lieutenant-Colonel John Drinkwater, subsequently assumed the name of Bethune. He held various military appointments and was comptroller of army accounts from 1811 to 1835.

hundred. In the meantime Lady Somerset, Lady Stafford's daughter, had been to see her and the child—by desire. The Prince, coming from the country, heard this and was furious, it being supposed by him and Lady Jersey that Lady Stafford (who was the great friend of the Princess of Brunswick) had encouraged the Princess in her rebellion against them and had employed her daughter in carrying messages.¹ He immediately stopped the new list. It is said he informs himself of every person, every message, and every parcel that comes to Carlton House. How little, and how tyrannical ! Not that he is singular in disliking the intriguing spirit of Lady Stafford, which has long been notorious.

March 27, Monday, 11 a.m., Bruton Street.—There is a sort of vague report and impression of some change or modification of the Ministry.

On Sunday the 26th February, the day the famous Order of Council issued, Fox, Grey and some other Oppositionists dined in Berkeley Square with Lord Robert Spencer, and having heard after dinner of that circumstance, they resolved to call on Lord Lansdowne (in the neighbourhood) and endeavour to obtain his opinion on the measures fit to be taken. They found him sitting with Miss Fox and her aunts, the two Miss Vernons, who are his sisters-in-law, and who live with him. He asked if they would participate in his supper, which was just ready. This they declined and signified that they had something confidential to say to him, intimating their wish that the ladies should not be present, but he told them he had no secrets which need be concealed from those ladies. Fox replied that he could have no objection to the presence of the ladies, especially his niece, but that the proposed conversation he thought might be very dull to them. I believe the ladies retired, and the business being stated Lord Lansdowne told them he had only two things to recommend, and which he had always recommended, namely *publicity* and *simplicity*.

¹ Lady Stafford, before her marriage Lady Susannah Stewart, had been a woman of the bedchamber to Princess Augusta, daughter of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who by her marriage with the Duke of Brunswick became the mother of the unfortunate Caroline.

I read yesterday with Lady Katherine some of Bacon's *Essays*. Part of that on Death has been almost transcribed, but modernised, in an excellent sermon of Blair's. There is a passage quoted from Seneca by Bacon, purporting that people sometimes court death or overcome the fear of it from satiety and fastidiousness, which corresponds to those two fine lines of Shakespeare :

Life is as tedious as a twice told tale
Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man.

Mr. Williams tells a story of some acquaintance of his who killed himself and left a note in one of his pockets explaining his motive to have been that he was "tired of buttoning and unbuttoning."

March 30, Thursday, 4 p.m., Bruton Street.—There was a dinner yesterday at the St. Alban's Tavern of Mr. Fox's friends, arising it is said out of that on Saturday last at Carlton House. Query : if the Prince was there. Fawkener asked Fox the other day how he found the Prince on Saturday. He answered, "Exactly the same as when he left us five years ago." Fox did dine at Carlton House on Saturday. The Duke of Norfolk, Erskine, etc. In all eleven.

Last night the Prince came half drunk to the Duchess of Gordon's ball, where Lady Katherine and her sister were.

March 31, Friday, 10 p.m., Pheasantry.—He was, as he always is, very kind to Lady Katherine, calling her always according to his custom when they used to meet as children, by the familiar name of Kitty. But he said to her, "I know none of these fine people of the present day, and none of them know me. (It is indeed a melancholy, God avert that it should be an ominous thing, that his acquaintance is rather shunned than courted.) When you and I used to dance together we were both on a high form—you as the Minister's daughter had the lowest bow, but I had also a bow." He then said many courteous things of the family.

Mr. Williams called on Lady Katherine yesterday. He fell into conversation concerning his old friend Lord Orford and

those posthumous works and papers he has left to the care of Mr. or rather of Miss Berry. He says (though very fond of many of Lord Orford's writings) he never could get through the *Castle of Otranto*, but that he has read many charming things both in verse and prose, which were printed, but which Lord Orford could not be persuaded to publish. Among them he mentioned some very interesting additions to the *Royal and Noble Authors*, and particularly a highly finished character of Richard Lord Edgcumbe, better known, in his time, by the name of Dickie Edgcumbe, who was, according to Mr. Williams, a fit subject to exercise ingenuity in drawing his portrait, being a most extraordinary mixture of art and absurdity, parts, folly, business, idleness and dissipation of every sort.¹ When he was a young man he had so completely ruined himself by play, that his father smuggled him on board of ship and sent him to Constantinople, where he left him ten years under the care of Sir Everard Fawkener.² On the passage he engaged the captain in play and they lost and won to each other during the voyage £22,000. He was a particular friend of Horace Walpole's and one of those who were assembled by him to hear Gray read in MSS. his *Ode to Lyric Poetry*. The others were, besides Gray and Walpole himself, Mason, Williams, and George Selwyn, and from the motto they called themselves the *συγγετοι*. When Gray had got to the second stanza Mr. Edgcumbe leant towards Mr. Williams who sat near him and said, "What is this? It seems to be English, but by G—d I don't understand a single word of it."³

We dined on Wednesday at Storer's: Lady Katherine and her two sisters, the Bishop of Winchester and his two eldest

¹ The second Lord Edgcombe "was one of the choicest spirits of his time. . . . But he threw away his life at the gambling-table." Walpole's account of him appears in Park's edition of the *Royal and Noble Authors*.

² A London merchant who was sent as Ambassador to the Porte in 1735.

³ *The Progress of Poesy*. "When the author first published this and the following Ode [*The Bard*], he was advised, even by his friends, to subjoin some few explanatory notes; but had too much respect for the understanding of his readers to take that liberty."—*Mason*.

daughters, Lady Ailesbury,¹ widow of General Conway, sister to the Duke of Argyll and mother to the late Duchess of Richmond and Mrs. Damer and her niece, a Miss Campbell, daughter of Lord William, and myself and Storer. Lady Ailesbury has all the winning politeness and seems to have had all the beauty which distinguished her family. Mr. Williams says she was very handsome, but not near so handsome as her mother,² whom he remembers still young.

Yesterday the Lady Norths, Lady Katherine and I, Storer, the two Miss Berrys and Kitty Smith dined with Sir Harry and his mother, Lady Englefield, and found good cheer, welcome and pleasant conversation. Miss Berry was less of the Minerva and more of the Venus than usual. I went with Sir Harry, afterwards, to visit two as agreeable women as any I have ever known, Lady Bristol and Lady Erne.³ Sir Harry gave me two prints of himself, one from a drawing of Edridge, and another as a head for a medal—neither very like, but the engraving of the first is very pretty.⁴

May 5, Friday, 9 a.m., Bruton Street.—Lally called on me last night. His *Défense des Émigrés* had when he last heard run through three editions at Paris of 3,000 copies each. It has been also printed at Hamburg, in London and elsewhere.

The facility with which emigrants, even those who have borne arms and held commissions from this country, enter France is something astonishing. Forged passports and certificates and the method of personating other persons are matters reduced to regular system and conducted by the venality and connivance of the maritime and frontier municipalities and even

¹ Lady Ailesbury, like her second husband, the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, was a friend of Horace Walpole's and the frequent recipient of his letters.

² Mary Bellenden, who in 1720 married John Campbell, was a famous beauty, often celebrated by the poets of her time. She died in 1736 and her husband a quarter of a century later succeeded to the Dukedom of Argyll.

³ Wife and daughter of the eccentric earl-bishop, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, Frederick Augustus Hervey.

⁴ Sir Henry Englefield, antiquary and scientist, was an authority on engraving.

of the Ministers at Paris and the Directory itself. Madame de Contades, the daughter of the Marquis de Bouillé, returned lately to Paris from this country with a German or American passport. Some days after her arrival this paragraph appeared in the *Rédacteur*, or Louvet's journal, "*La fille de Bouillé est ici.*" A friend of hers calling on her that morning informed her of the circumstance and advised her to think of what was to be done. Her answer was, "I have invited myself to breakfast with Mme. Tallien to-morrow, and you must go along with me." He remonstrated, she persisted, and they accordingly went. Mme. Tallien is now the mistress of Barras. He was there, and the breakfast was very lively and agreeable. When it was over Madame de Contades said, "Madame, I thank you for an excellent breakfast. I must now come to a little business with M. Barras." She then told who she was, that she was daughter to Bouillé and an emigrant of the worst sort, having quitted Paris in the earliest times of the Revolution. "*À présent, Monsieur, c'est à vous à décider—ordonnez ou que je sois pendue ou qu'on me raie de la liste des Émigrés.*" She is very handsome, and Barras, with some flat speech about her beauty, protested that he was incapable of severity towards a person so interesting and undertook that her name should be immediately struck out of the list, which was accordingly done.

The next day she was put in possession of the Hôtel de Contades, where Barras visited her so openly as to excite some jealousy in his mistress, whose interest she had probably purchased before the engagement to breakfast. Not satisfied with this success Mme. de Contades soon after took a trip to Hamburg, where she met her lover the Comte d'Archambaud,¹ who is still a general in his Britannic Majesty's service, conducted him back with her to Paris, and had his name also *rayé* and now lives openly with him, without disguising his name. Lally says, as I have heard from many other quarters, that in society everybody is addressed by his former title of Count, Marquis, Prince, etc., and that Barras is thought to be much prouder of his ancient honour of Vicomte than of being member of the Directory.

¹ Qu. if this is the name.—G.

At a ball given this winter by Barras, somebody asked him who such a young man was who was dancing with a young lady near them. Barras answered, "*C'est un Émigré. Et cet autre plus loin ?*" "*Encore un Émigré.*" The *aigles*, who have been the fashionable emigrants at all the choice balls in London for the last three or four years, are now shining in the same character, and with as much *fatuité* probably, at Paris. Many others of the same description are returned, and those young people, though they never spoke a word of English here, distinguish themselves at Paris by talking to one another across the boxes at the play and opera in that language. *N.B.*—I remember this to have been very much the *ton* among the young men at Paris when I was there in the year 1788.

We have been since Wednesday morning in the belief of the preliminaries of a separate peace having been signed by the Archduke Charles and Buonaparte, but with no better evidence than the P.S. of a letter from Moreau (general of the French army on the Rhine) received by the Directory and communicated by them to the Councils on the 25th of April, without remark, or the recommendation of any measure to be taken, and without further confirmation from that day to the 28th, when the last accounts left Paris.

I have, through the intervention of Adam, concluded an arrangement with Coutts, which will at the expense of five per cent on their advances, enable me to anticipate the arrears of my income from the public.

Having been confined yesterday by the influenza, I read with much entertainment a great part of the *Nugæ antiquæ* and several cantos of Harington's translation of *Ariosto*, which I think has great merit.

May 15, Monday, 10 p.m., Bruton Street.—On my return from the Pheasantry (where I spent yesterday, and was joined this morning after breakfast by Sir Gilbert Elliot, who accompanied me on my return as far as Putney) I learned that Lord Howe has at last completed his treaty with the delegates of the Channel fleet, after their second mutiny,¹ which commenced

¹ The mutiny at Spithead.

yesterday se'nnight and continued from Sunday to Sunday. The chief commander of the British Navy, or rather the executive government of the country, treating, between independent belligerent powers, with a handful of sailors, but the representative of all the sailors in the fleet, acting in a manner as one man, after having annihilated the authority of their officers and usurped the entire command themselves, is a state of things unexampled in history, and, in prospect, big with consequences of the most alarming nature. The terms of the pacification, for that is the proper word, as far as I have yet heard, are calculated to darken the prospect, for the seamen are said to have succeeded in obtaining not only a second pardon for this second mutiny, but the dismissal of Admiral Colpoys, three captains, and seventeen lieutenants. Was the forced removal of Louis XVI from Versailles to Paris in 1789 a greater proof, or at least symptom, of the approaching dissolution of all government than this? And at that time experience had not taught us how very near the beginnings are to the consummation in matters of this nature.

This evening while Lady Katherine had been trying to amuse poor Fred, who is indisposed to a degree which gives us uneasiness, I have been reading Malone's Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and as far as I have got in it, I have read it with pleasure. The knowledge I had of Sir Joshua (which was very slight, though in the mixed societies of London I very frequently fell in with him) and the entertainment I have often derived from his mild and lively conversation, make the particulars of his life more interesting than if I had never seen him. Some circumstances observed by Malone (or by Reynolds himself, in some of the extracts) have reminded me of what struck me much at the time. I happened to call at Sir Joshua's to see the pictures at the time Erskine was sitting to him for the portrait which has been engraved. Having wished to see the picture of a lady which was in his painting room, I was shown into it, and found him there, and the picture of Erskine before him nearly finished. I asked him if he did not think Erskine had a very fine countenance. "Yes," he said, "certainly, but there is a wildness in

his eye, approaching to madness, such as I scarcely ever met with in any other instance."

Sir Joshua Reynolds's manner and his paintings do not seem to have been relished abroad. The contemptuous manner in which he and his opinions are spoken of in the writings of Mengs is such as can, I think, be explained only by the supposition of some private dislike or quarrel—perhaps I shall find some explanation of this as I proceed in the *Life*—but I remember the Duke of Dorset when Ambassador at Paris had two or three of his finest pictures (*The Girl with the Cap*, *The Woman asleep in a Wood*, etc.) hung up in his hotel, on purpose to dispose of them for Sir Joshua's account, but they did not find purchasers. I remember also in a letter of Madame de Rosenberg's to me, she speaks of him as *le froid* Reynolds. She had as much taste as most people in most matters of three sister arts, and she was a candid and an indulgent critic. But she had been very little in England, and only when very young, and could have seen scarce any of his works abroad. She must indeed have seen many of his prints taken from them, but I rather suppose she had adopted the opinion of other Italians on the subject.

Sept. 19, Tuesday, 8 p.m., *Pheasantry*.—This chasm of above four months will be in part filled up by my correspondence. Similar interruptions will probably continue to occur at different intervals. The summer and long days have all my life been a season of idleness for me. Perhaps other causes also may have operated in the present instance.

Miss Berrys to-day gave me the print of the late Lord Orford engraved from a sketch made by Lawrence a very short time before his death. It is a head, a mere outline, but the most striking likeness I ever saw, for the features and expression. It is to be prefixed to their edition of his works.

Sept. 22, Friday, 7 p.m., *Pheasantry*.—On Wednesday I dined at Anstruther's on Ham Common, and yesterday at Sutton's, Moulsey. Yesterday morning the King was apparently in great health and spirits at a review of the 1st Dragoons on Ashford Common. Somebody has observed that the appearance of particularly good spirits in a King in public is a token of bad

news. In my opinion there can hardly be worse news than this second return of Lord Malmesbury. He arrived from Lisle last —— [*sic.*).

Sept. 26, 10 a.m., Pheasantry.—This is my marriage day. That event, which has been the source of as much domestic happiness as I believe our nature is capable of, took place eight years ago, on the 26th of Sept., 1789. Lady Katherine gave a little fête to twelve children of the village of Hampton for whom she has established a school where they are taught reading and work, and whom she clothes.

Yesterday and the day before and the intervening night as well as last night it had rained incessantly and so heavily that this ground is overflowed more than has ever been known by anybody who remembers the place.

Jan. 10, Wednesday, 10 a.m., Bruton Street.—Lord Holland¹ made his maiden speech last night in Dom. Proc. [House of Lords] in the debate on the question for committing the assessed tax bill. I thought it neither well nor ill, and this seemed the general opinion. His topics were the general and hackneyed arguments against the war, the insufficiency of and corruption of Ministers, Ireland, radical reform of Parliament and other abuses, fundamental change of system, etc. ; that he would not grant the supplies to these Ministers, nor till a pledge for those reforms was given, but that it would be misrepresentation to accuse him of endeavouring to stop the business of the country, for that all this might be done that night, in half an hour. On that thoughtless defence Lord Grenville grounded a very pointed part of the only eloquent speech delivered in this dull debate, which appeared more so from the severity of the frost and the thinness of the House.

Lord Holland had the same sort of hesitation or impediment of speech he has in conversation. It seems his grandfather Lord Holland had it. Lord Bayning, who remembers him, says it seemed with him to proceed from his ideas crowding too fast upon him for distinct utterance, and that this sort of stutter of his used to be compared to the guggling in emptying a bottle when it is full.

Lady Katherine told me the following anecdote. On the occasion of the debates in Dom. Com. on the slave trade the

¹ Henry Richard, third Lord Holland, Fox's nephew, at this time about twenty-four years old and lately married to the lady who was to make Holland House so famous a centre of politics and conversation.

King said, "Mr. Pitt is sometimes in the wrong, Mr. Fox often is—but when they both agree, they are sure to be so."

Dec. 28.—This evening, in the House of Commons, Dundas took me aside, to tell me that Lord Macartney is coming away from the Cape, and to offer me the government. He desired I would think of it, and consult Lady Katherine, and said he had told Pitt he should make me the first offer, adding that he was aware of the improvement in my situation since the former proposal in 1796.

I said that I felt much obliged to him, that I should prefer the situation, as to myself, to what I now have at home, but that Lady Katherine's disinclination to going was so decided that I felt no hesitation, at once, in declining absolutely. He desired I would not mention that he had made me the offer, because the next person would not like to know that another had been first thought of.

Dec. 30, Sunday, 10 p.m.—I told Lady Katherine to-day what had passed between Dundas and me, and had the satisfaction to see that what I had done gave her great pleasure, although she declared that she would now go with cheerfulness, circumstances being much altered by her mother's death and Lady Anne's marriage.

We dined yesterday at the Chancellor's, where I was the only man, and after dinner I had a long and, on his part, a very free and confidential conversation relative both to the union with Ireland, and the negotiations, in which he had a great share, between Pitt and Lord Fitzwilliam, relative to his Lord Lieutenancy. He says that in an ultimate interview at his house, between Lord Fitzwilliam, Burke and Grattan on the one hand, and himself on the other, it was agreed that Lord Fitzwilliam should accept and conduct the Irish Government, under *Mr. Pitt, as Prime Minister of England*, and that all measures of importance should be first submitted to the Cabinet of England before their adoption; that he himself made a written memorandum of this, of which he gave them a copy, and sent another to Mr. Pitt, and that the business was settled on that basis; that Lord Fitzwilliam never mentioned the Catholics to him, and

that the Duke of Portland assured him he never had to him ; that Grattan never did, but once, and in a cursory manner, on which occasion he (the Chancellor) had said he thought a further extension of privileges to them could never be granted consistently with what was due to the Protestant proprietors and Irish of English descent ; that Grattan mentioned to him his intention to be the Minister of the House of Commons *but without taking any office* ; on the strange idea that he had been purchased, as it were, by the people, and could not make himself the paid servant of anybody else. The Chancellor says he represented to him the absurdity of this, that a man could not be a Minister without a responsible office, nor be in the House of Commons on a ground of unqualified popularity, as a Minister's duty must sometimes force him to propose and defend unpopular measures ; that he advised him to take the office of Secretary of State. This struck me as a key to the Chancellor's violent wrath with me at that time for refusing to relinquish my title to that office.

Feb. 4, Monday.—This evening Lord Guilford told us several anecdotes of O'Byrne, now Bishop of Ferns, who was formerly a priest and French usher to a school at Northampton. During the Coalition, when he was private secretary to the Duke of Portland, he used to live a good deal with Sheridan, Lord Guilford (then George North) and other of the younger men of the party, and though he was of their riotous parties would often remonstrate against the indecorum of their conduct and language. Sheridan took a pleasure in tormenting him, and had given him the name of "Bold parson O'Byrne." It seems O'Byrne was a great writer of political essays and paragraphs, and sometimes verses (which were not thought very good) in the newspapers. One night a dispute arose on the pronunciation of the word "believe," which O'Byrne made a monosyllable "b'lieve," on which Sheridan made the following impromptu :

Bold parson O'Byrne is a *b'liever* most odd,
He *b'lieves* he's a poet, yet *b'lieves* not in God.

Mr. Craufurd (the Fish) told us he had heard Dixon (Bishop of Down and the only Irish Bishop who voted against the Union on the 22nd of last month) once say, "*I own I have no positive objection to a King and a Monarchy.*" Before the Revolution perhaps the Bishop of Autun [Talleyrand] might have gone that far in regard to a god.

Jan. 1.—I called in Downing Street at 11 this morning, and sent in word that I had something to mention to Mr. Pitt. He saw me almost immediately. I told him that I had conjectured that some temporary diplomatic mission might be found necessary during the winter to Russia, Berlin, or elsewhere in Europe ; that though I was now too old for working permanently on that career to which my early wishes and pursuits had been directed, I should be very happy to accept of such a temporary employment, in any character which could be thought suitable to my station and qualities and with the preserving of my present footing at home. Of my qualifications I would not pretend to judge, but I really felt (as I do) that I do not earn the money I receive from the public.

He applauded my way of thinking, was pleased to say I had been of more use than most people, and he hoped would be so still further ; that there were many considerations belonging to the subject I had mentioned, and I must suppose he could not give an answer immediately. I said I knew this, and did not wish for one now. He asked if I had any particular place or ministry or negotiation in view. I said no, though I had ventured to conjecture (with no better information than newspapers) that the new Consular Government of France, like the Directoriat, would probably make some overtures towards peace, and which, though also probably as insincere as those of their predecessors, he might not think it fit to reject in a positive or unqualified manner. To this he seemed to assent. The message and letter from Buonaparte had arrived a day or two before.

Jan. 29, Thursday.—Yesterday I went to the levee, and afterwards was sworn in Governor of the Cape before the King in Council, and when the Council was over had an audience of leave of the King which lasted near an hour.

At the levee the King in speaking to Dundas while I stood by said loud enough for me to have heard if I had listened, which I did not, but Mr. Dundas repeated the whole to me five minutes afterwards, "I hear Lord Castlereagh is to bring forward a motion in the House of Commons respecting the Catholics, and I must say that I shall consider every man who supports that measure as my personal enemy." Dundas said, "I am sorry your Majesty should see the matter in that light." The King answered, "You know I have always done so." Dundas: "Yes, I am sorry to recollect that some measures I thought it my duty to propose in 1793 did not entirely accord with your Majesty's sentiments." Mr. Dundas when he told me said, "If he persists in this, great inconvenience may follow, but he has got an opinion that the measure will be contrary to his Coronation Oath." I observed that Lord Clare's doctrine was so (as appears, I think, in some of his printed speeches) but that many thought the Quebec Bill ¹ and the proceedings in Ireland of '93 showed that this objection is now too late.

The audience I asked for was mere form, and to desire leave to wear the Windsor uniform. The King began the conversation, which turned on the subject of Sir George Yonge, Lord Macartney, General Dundas, William Dundas, Mr. Pitt, Lord

¹ Which gave freedom of worship to the Roman Catholics in Canada. Passed in 1774.

Grenville, the late Lord North and Lord Chatham, the present Lord Chatham, and Lord North's sons and daughters and Colonel Lindsay. He mentioned that in reply to Dundas's letter, in which he said, "Your Majesty may be surprised at my recommending the recall of Sir George Yonge,"¹ he had written "that he was not surprised at his recall, but had been much surprised at his appointment," and he added some expressions [not] very flattering to the sense or understanding of Sir George. He particularly said it was very extraordinary he should have thought it wise or fit to condemn in the lump all the measures of Lord Macartney, a man, he said, the most remarkable he had ever known for minute accuracy and attention in business, *even* to a degree perhaps of punctiliousness. He said that General Dundas he understood to be of a difficult hot temper, that he differed much in that respect from the Advocate, of whom he spoke in very high terms. He then asked my opinion and many questions concerning William Dundas.² I said of him that he is a man of a sharp mind and understanding. He enquired if he made much progress in the law, and thought he still practised at the Bar of the House of Lords. This I wondered at. I set him right in that particular, and added that in the causes I had seen him in he had acquitted himself perfectly well; that I did not suppose he had had time to study the fundamental parts of the law very profoundly.

The King said that in general he thought men of quick parts seldom go to the bottom or take any lasting and useful impressions, but that there were some striking exceptions, of which he mentioned as two remarkable instances Mr. Pitt and the late Lord

¹ From the Cape of Good Hope, where he had succeeded Macartney as Governor (on Glenbervie's refusal) in 1799.

² The three Dundases under discussion were the sons of Robert Dundas, Lord Arniston, the younger, half-brother to Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, whose senior he was by nearly thirty years: (1) Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord Advocate of Scotland like his father and grandfather before him, though he did not, like them, become Lord President; (2) General Francis Dundas, acting Governor of the Cape from 1798-9 and 1801-3; (3) William Dundas, a barrister and Member of Parliament, who was Secretary at War in Pitt's last ministry and subsequently Keeper of the Signet and Lord Clerk Register.

North. He either stated, or gave a warm and hearty assent when I stated, that Lord Guilford was a man of the finest parts, the best heart and the best nature and temper, that he was an admirable scholar and deeply versed in ancient and modern history, but especially in the history of this country and in its constitution, and was a true as well as an enlightened friend to the Constitution in Church and State. He asked if Lord North kept his classical knowledge to the last. I told him he did, and that when he grew blind his daughters read Latin to him. He asked if they understood it. I said no, but that having great quickness they probably guessed a great deal from their knowledge of French. I wished to have told him of the progress Lady Katherine had since made in Latin but did not.

We talked of Mr. Pitt's readiness of apprehension and expression, and he observed that Mr. Pitt was apt to put off laborious or disagreeable business to the last, but then, when forced to it, got through it with extraordinary rapidity, but that this sort of irregular mixture of delay and hurry was the chief cause of his ill health. I observed Mr. Pitt's peculiar talent of reducing formal proceedings as reports, clauses of statutes, etc., into the best and most precise, short and elegant words and that he excelled any special pleader in that respect, but that I could not help thinking that, as people generally take pleasure in doing what they do well, he was apt to pass time at boards, committees, etc., on business he might entrust to others, and which time he might employ to more advantage elsewhere. He entirely agreed, and then said Mr. Pitt, as to the facility and happiness of his language, was very unlike his father, who was a very bad writer, and that the present Lord Chatham expresses himself remarkably well in writing. I suggested they might derive that quality from their mother, whom I understood to be a sensible woman. He said she is, but that he did not think they had inherited the Grenville obstinacy from her; that George Grenville¹ never could be reasoned out of or driven from any point; that Lord Grenville takes up his opinions entirely from himself and never will listen to arguments against them; that perhaps some months

¹ First Lord of the Treasury from 1763 to 1765.

afterwards he will on his own reflection change and then is angry if those whom he had before forced into his opinion do not change back with him. He said Lord Grenville said of the Duke of Bedford, "It is fortunate he is never in the wrong because if he were no power on earth could convince him of it." He seemed to apply this to Lord Grenville. He agreed that Pitt is very candid and open to conviction in private discussion. He said that nobody now possesses that easy natural flow of genuine good-natured wit which distinguished Lord Guilford, and forced a smile from those against whom it was exercised; that he believed Mr. Pitt had nothing of that talent. I said I thought that his wit [was] of a grave, sarcastic, cutting sort. He said he had often told Lord North that he gave too much consequence to bad speakers and contributed to improve and bring them forward by answering them himself; that this had happened in the case of Mr. Burke, who, however, had spoken till the House would no longer hear him. He said Mr. Pitt has the same fault and that it is attended with the same effect. I asked him if he did not think it had also the effect of repressing other persons who in their different spheres and lines might become useful speakers, and whom it was of public benefit to train and bring forward. He said he was quite of that opinion. He spoke with much kindness and seeming affection of all the late Lord Guilford's children. He asked which of the sons I thought had the best abilities. He also asked if Lady Charlotte was happy with Colonel Lindsay.¹ He enquired whom I had taken with me as my secretary, and I told him he was brother to Robert Arbuthnot, whom he knew, and I took occasion to speak very favourably of G. Arbuthnot. He asked how I had met with him. I said his family were much acquainted and connected with mine in Scotland.

The King added, concerning General Dundas, that he understood that he was a good officer and a very honourable man, and I said I had heard he did not at all want abilities, and that since

¹ Lady Charlotte North, Lady Glenbervie's sister, had in 1800 married Colonel John Lindsay, a younger son of the fifth Earl of Balcarres and brother to Lady Anne Barnard and Lady Margaret Fordyce.

his marriage and his having grown older he was much less subject to those extravagancies which he had sometimes formerly committed.

The King on this and a former occasion expressed a considerable degree of surprise that hitherto more benefits had not been derived from the Cape.

The King was to have gone down to open the united Parliament to-day, but this has been postponed till Monday next. The supposed reason is the expectation of news of the rupture of the Treaty of Armed Neutrality.

Feb. 2, Monday.—Since last Thursday much speculation has taken place and many reports have prevailed relative to the delay in opening the Parliament. Mr. Long had been sent down to the House of Commons on Wednesday at half past three to announce to the Speaker that the King would not go to the House till Monday. Yet when I left St. James' at 5 none of the King's attendants knew that the meeting was deferred. On the contrary they then received his orders to attend him next day, and it is said he was not informed of it till 7 o'clock at night by a note from Mr. Pitt. On Saturday forenoon a report, said to have originated at Carlton House, was in an instant circulated over the whole town that Mr. Pitt had resigned, and the Stocks are said to have instantly risen 2 per cent, from the notion that a change would produce a Peace with France. In a few hours, however, the news was known to be false or at least premature. Yet the known difference of opinion between the King and four of his principal Ministers, particularly Mr. Pitt, on the subject of Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, and the strong resolution on that subject which his Majesty has so often and so recently expressed, seem to have convinced everybody that if he knew where to find a person to put in Mr. Pitt's place he would certainly be removed. But all the leading men in Opposition are as much pledged against his opinion on this question as Mr. Pitt is.

His Majesty last summer at Windsor, when Windham, Lord Hawkesbury, Ryder and myself attended him with Lord Leicester and Lord Walsingham to present him with the Articles

of Union as adopted by both Houses, in a long conversation on the subject said that one of the good consequences of that measure was that it put an end to all pretext for the admission of the Catholics. He seemed to address this particularly to Windham, who made no reply. I believe he has lately said that he may be set aside, but that he will never yield in this point as he thinks it would be a violation of his Coronation Oath.

Lord St. Helens, who lives very much with the Royal Family, told me yesterday that the King is extremely eager on this matter. That he is continually mentioning it, and urging him to declare his own opinion, which, however, he has, though with great difficulty, been able to avoid.

On Friday evening the King was detained the whole evening from the Queen's card party at Buckingham House, where the family had remained instead of returning as usual to Windsor that day. This gave rise to a great deal of speculation. Some said Lord Lansdowne (who is at Bath) was with the King, others that some of the Ministers were with him. I learned the fact yesterday from Walsh, who had been to Buckingham House and knows some of the principal servants, and among others the person who let the King's visitors in and out, and the person was the Speaker, who was with him four hours and a half. The Speaker is said to be very earnest against the Catholic question. So is Lord Auckland, the Chancellor of Ireland, etc.

I will set down here two remarkable traits which seem to me illustrative of Mr. Pitt's character. Last spring my friend, colleague, and neighbour Smyth of Heath, Wallace, William Dundas, Rose and myself went home to dinner in Downing Street after a short day in the House. Smyth mentioned Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole* and that it appears there that Sir Robert Walpole lamented that in the latter part of his administration he had departed from the maxim of *quieta non movere*, which he had made a general rule of his conduct in public life. On this Mr. Pitt observed that there was no wisdom in establishing general rules or principles in government or policy. I was much struck with this at the time, and mentioned it to Lady Glenbervie, but did not suppose it had made any

impression on any of the rest of the company. However, a few days ago on mentioning it to Smyth, I found that he had not only remarked it but had introduced the conversation in order to try what Mr. Pitt would say of the particular maxim in question.

The other trait is that last Tuesday week, dining at Lord Macartney's, where Pitt and Dundas made part of the company, the topic was the law of nations and Professor Schlegel's reply to Dr. Scott, when somebody observed that the law of nations (where not founded on positive treaty) was deduced from the principles of ethics. "Yes," says Mr. Pitt, with a smile, "that most certain of all sciences."

Yesterday se'nnight Mr. Robert Arbuthnot dined at Mr. Dundas's at Wimbledon, where Mr. Pitt, Lord and Lady Hawkesbury, etc., were. Mr. Arbuthnot mentioned Gibbon's MSS. treatise on the character of Brutus and said that Brutus seemed to have been a Roman Whig. On this Mr. Pitt: "Yes, and that Whiggism was the *pre-existing state of Jacobinism*."

Harry Legge told Lady Glenbervie yesterday the following humorous stanza to *God save the King* :

From Auckland's apostacy,
Windham's philosophy
And from Lord Hawkesbury
God save us all.

Feb. 3, Monday.—Both Houses were remarkably full yesterday and the King looked particularly well, and read his speech with particular energy and clearness, much beyond what has been usual with him for the last ten or fifteen years.

Lord Auckland told me to-day that while the King was robing he said to the Duke of Norfolk, in the hearing of several other Lords, "I believe, my Lord, you have a very fine old place at Arundel." The Duke said he had. "I hear," says the King, "you are making considerable alterations in it." "I am," said the Duke. "Take care," added the King, "not to meddle with the foundations," looking significantly to some of the other Lords.

Feb. 6, Friday, 8 a.m.—Lady Katherine, Fred, Mr. Barnes and myself went in the morning yesterday to see the King's Botanical Garden and collection of plants at Kew, which were shown us by Mr. Aiton.¹

Afterwards Lady Charlotte Lindsay and I went to dine with the Prince of Wales at Blackheath, where we met Lord and Lady Sheffield, Mr. Pelham, Mr. W. Elliot and Mrs. Vernon. The Prince of Wales observed that in one of the late Duke of Orleans's letters to M. Montmorin just published, but written in 1789 or 1790, the Duke of Orleans expresses his idea to be that Mr. Pitt acted from the event and not according to system or fixed opinions, and he afterwards pointed out to us, in confirmation of that opinion, an extract of a speech in Parliament by Mr. Pitt about the same time printed in Ségur's history of Prussia, in which he seems to approve of the French Revolution and to look for the best effects from it to France and Europe. This, however, is I think no inconsistency. I hardly knew any liberal man who did not entertain that wish, and all the sanguine and inexperienced seemed to expect its accomplishment. Poor Lord Guilford I think never did, nor Burke. But I think Burke's sagacity on the occasion was extremely aided by the temper of his mind towards that time towards Fox, Sheridan, etc., who had disgusted him by neglect of that most favourite subject with him, the impeachment of Hastings, and a sort of quizzing of him which Sheridan and the younger men of the set scarcely concealed from him. Their profligate life and principles must also have been very offensive to a man of his moral and religious turn, and besides he was by early education and early prejudice a Royalist and Aristocrate, and those circumstances were very powerful with him. His powers of logic and eloquence only served to defend, illustrate and adorn notions infused by those antecedent causes. In short, I had foreseen long before the French Revolution that Burke waited but for some favourable opportunity to break with that party. The desperate state of his affairs might secretly and unknown to himself increase that

¹ William Townsend Aiton, Keeper of Kew Gardens and one of the founders of the Royal Horticultural Society.

bias in his mind. His connection with Government was after some time rewarded by two very lucrative grants—to such an amount as to form a very striking evasion of his own Pension Bill, which he has been heard to call, in his later days, one of his mortal sins.

I saw one of the splendid presentation copies of Pybus's poem at the Chancellor's last Sunday. About the time of the first appearance of that poem these doggerel lines were in everybody's mouth :

Poetis nos lætamur tribus
Pye, Peter Pindar atque Pybus.

To which were afterwards added :

Si quantum etiam scire pergis
His adde quoque James Bland Burges.

Feb. 8, Sunday, 9 a.m.—All yesterday the town was full of new reports of a change in the Ministry.¹

In the evening Lord Bayning carried me to the Chancellor's *couché* (which he has resumed since the Saturday before). Going in we met Pitt, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Hawkesbury, the Attorney General, Hiley Addington, Mr. Ryder, etc., who had dined with the Speaker. The Chancellor seemed in spirits. We found Dundas in close private conversation with Gibbs (the Attorney General to the Prince of Wales). When it was over Dundas pulled me aside and said, "I suppose you know what has happened." I said, "Are you all out?" "Yes, we are." I then said, "I suppose it is but to come in again." "That is another matter." I said, "I suppose you have taken care of the interests of persons in situations like mine." I think his expression implied the affirmative, but he appointed me to call on him in Clarges Street to-day at 10, which he afterwards changed to to-morrow at 3, as he said he had appointed Sir James

¹ For the next month or so the diary is very full of the events connected with Pitt's resignation and the formation of Addington's Government. But as the essentials of the story are well known and Glenbervie is very prolix on the petty details of Cabinet-making and place-hunting, intrigue and speculation—Taper and Tadpole stuff—his entries have been rather drastically winnowed.

Pulteney to-day at half-past ten and half an hour would not finish his business with me.

He yesterday told Alexander Trotter (Paymaster of the Navy), who repeated it to Arbuthnot, that he, Pitt, Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer are out. Windham I suppose he forgot as less *marquant*. He showed Trotter the letter of resignation he had just sent to the King, in which, after stating the length of his public service (36 years), he added, "that he could not walk the streets as a gentleman were he to abandon what he considered himself pledged to support, the repeal of the Test Act." He is certainly more pardonable than the other Ministers in having so pledged himself, because a Presbyterian and the representative and efficient Minister for a country where that is the established church.

Feb. 9, Monday, 4 a.m.—Yesterday was a day of much general agitation, of which I had my share. In the course of the morning I called on my opposite neighbour, John Smyth of Heath, on Lord Macartney, Lord Liverpool, and Lord Guilford, and I dined at Lord Sheffield's, where I met the Archbishop of Cashel, and I had met and had some conversation with John Sullivan and Tom Steele.

Lord Liverpool saw me immediately and, sending his secretary, Leck, out of the room, gave me a circumstantial narrative of all that had passed, to his knowledge, in the Cabinet, or between the King and his Ministers, on the Catholic question, and several other material points, for the last twelve months. The heads I shall mention immediately. He was very distinct, and seemed better. I could perceive in his discourse great enmity to Dundas, and not a little to Pitt. Smyth had told me that Hawkesbury had agreed to accept a station in the new Ministry, which it seems Ryder has declined. Lord Liverpool suspects something more than opinion on the Test question to be at the bottom of Dundas's conduct on the present occasion. He thinks he is apprehensive of enquiry concerning the expeditions, that he has for some time wished to retire from the War Department, in order to weaken or avoid any impending blow, and that having hitherto failed in obtaining the King or Pitt's

consent to this he has hit on the present mode of obtaining his end. I own I have at times entertained suspicions of the same sort.

Lord Liverpool's account as far as I recollect was as follows :

The King, as well as his own son, had told him soon after it happened what he had said on the subject of the Irish Catholics on our audience at Windsor last summer, mentioned above, and had on many occasions since mentioned the subject and always with much vehemence and passion. There was a Cabinet on the subject on the 9th of October last, just before his confinement (which has lasted ever since), in which Lord Grenville and Windham declared strong opinions for the admission of the Catholics. Pitt made a speech to say *he was against it*, on the grounds that he saw no good it could do, and that it would only open a door to new demands. Dundas mentioned repeatedly the King's strong and decided objection (which Lord Liverpool says are, besides his Coronation Oath, his own Protestant title to the Crown and the certainty of further claims), but Dundas gave no opinion then, nor did the Duke of Portland. The Chancellor did against the repeal. Lord Westmorland was absent and there was no division or vote. He thought the matter was at rest. He had delivered his own opinion, which was, declining the question of conscience and law, that from what he had observed in 1780,¹ when in his office of Secretary at War he had been often obliged to be in the midst of the rioters, he was persuaded that a strong spirit of fanaticism still prevails in this country, which in case of a decided measure in favour of the Catholics so extensive as to admit them to Parliament and the great offices might break out into the most dangerous excesses. I think he said Lord Castlereagh was at the above meeting.

Some time ago Lord Castlereagh returned again from Ireland and Lord Liverpool found that he had been taking great pains with Lord Hawkesbury (with whom he is very intimate) to get him over on the Catholic question ; but that Lord Hawkesbury (though he had gone so far as to say he thought it might be right under certain modifications and to a degree) had prudently kept

¹ The Gordon Riots.

in reserve; that Mr. Pitt in the interim had entirely gone over to the side of the repeal; that Lord Camden (with whom Lord Liverpool says he is in no habits of visiting or private intercourse) had called on him in a morning to talk on the subject, to whom he had given the same opinion he had delivered in the Cabinet, and had treated the attempt as absurd and lightly; that the Chancellor had also called on him and expressed a strenuous opinion against and asked if he had seen a paper he had written upon it, and on Lord Liverpool answering no, bid him send for it, and that he had found a remarkably able, well written paper containing many strong and several new topics; that Lord Westmorland had in the meantime declared decidedly against the measure and had been frequently with him to inform him of what was passing in the Cabinet and with the other Ministers on the subject as far as he knew (for Lord Liverpool repeatedly spoke of Lord Westmorland, and even of himself, of [as] not being in the confidence of what I think he called the interior or internal ministry); that lately (meaning the day I was sworn in Governor of the Cape) Dundas went to Downing Street with a report of what the King had said to him at the levee; that the opinions of the different Ministers were then declared; that on Wednesday last Pitt sent for Lord Hawkesbury, told him he was going out, spoke with great regard of the King as an honest, conscientious man, informed him that Addington was to conduct the new Government, which he was resolved to support, and hoped all his friends would.

That he (Lord Hawkesbury) had afterwards seen the Speaker and Dundas, and that the latter had spoken to him with great acrimony of Lord Auckland, and complained of his intrigues but without explaining himself; that he (Lord Liverpool) supposed he meant that he had worked on the Archbishop of Canterbury and sent him to the King. He knew he, and he believed the Primate of Ireland, had been with the King. He said Pitt had again sent for Lord Hawkesbury on Friday last; that he was then much agitated and cried, but declared that his Administration was decidedly at an end.

Steele told me that he believed (if no alteration had taken

place in the course of the forenoon) that Pitt would remain in the exercise of his office, and all the others, till after the budget, which is fixed for Wednesday se'nnight (Feb. 18). This might give some countenance to an idea which is in circulation, that the whole is a game, to give the go-by to the Catholic question and get rid of Windham and perhaps Lord Spencer and that Pitt then means to resume the Government. This, however, seems to me too refined, though I suppose Dundas has rather encouraged the explosion, in order to get out of office on public grounds, and so make his terms, and as safe a retreat as he can. Pitt told Lord Hawkesbury that everything between him and the King on the subject had passed in letters, and that he had sent his correspondence to Lord Chatham, who has not yet come to town; that when returned he would send them to Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Liverpool.

As to his conjectures about Dundas, he says about the beginning of winter '99 Dundas wrote a very elaborate letter to the King requesting on a variety of grounds to resign the War Department. I asked if he put it chiefly on health. He said no certainly. He was not quite sure if he mentioned that at all among his reasons. That the King had shown him (Lord Liverpool) the letter and his own answer, which was very sensible and guarded and, in substance, purported that he could give no answer till Mr. Pitt had *spoken to him* on the subject (for, says Lord Liverpool, he would not say till he *had consulted* Mr. Pitt); that he afterwards asked the King what had further passed, who replied that Pitt had never mentioned the subject, and therefore he supposed would not consent; that in the course of last summer the expedition to Ferrol and Cadiz having after an enormous expense proved abortive, and even in some measure disgraceful, Dundas had proposed to the Cabinet several new plans for the ulterior employment of the army; that Pitt had rejected two, but the third, viz. the present against Egypt, he had adopted; that Windham and Lord Grenville were strong against it; that he, Lord Liverpool, as the force was already at such a distance, thought it the best use he could make of them; that Pitt he believed was for it, because he wished to negotiate and was

desirous of first recovering Egypt (as if that were so easy); that Lord Grenville wished to send the army to the coast of Italy, and Windham, of course, to the coast of France; that Lord Grenville complained that Pitt had authorised him to give assurances to Vienna and other courts of military co-operation, which he afterwards suffered to be overruled in the Cabinet; that Pitt, finding Lord Liverpool was for the Egyptian plan, called out (contrary to custom) for Lord Liverpool's opinion—"I wish to hear Lord Liverpool's sentiments;" that on voting those who gave an opinion were nearly equal, but Pitt, summing up, counted those of three members who had not given any opinion and so the matter was decided. He said that Pitt was very ignorant of those subjects.

On the affair of the negotiation (through Otto¹) Pitt had been for the qualified armistice—Grenville at first rather against it; that he had not been at several of the Cabinets and which were very thin; that he understood Dundas had written a strong letter to the King from Cheltenham against it (according to Sir Walter Farquhar it was to Pitt) which he had not seen; that on new difficulties and claims by the French at a Cabinet where he was present it appeared clear that the treaty must be broken off; that he on that occasion said, "I am glad of it, for I was against it throughout," and that Pitt on this in anger said, "And I was decidedly for it."

Smyth told the Speaker that as his friend he was sorry he had taken the Government. Indeed all the world thinks it madness in him. But Pitt said or pretended to Smyth, who asked him if he thought the new Government could stand, that though Addington is not an orator, he thought it could, if well supported, as Mr. Pelham's had done.

Feb. 10, Tuesday, 8 a.m.—I went yesterday at 11 to leave my name with the Speaker, not meaning to be let in, or expecting it. Abbott was with him, Bramston waiting, and Lord Arden came on afterwards. Abbott soon left him, when he called in Lord Arden to his inner room, and on his going away, in about ten minutes, he called me in.

¹ Napoleon's agent in England.

He began by saying that he had met with the greatest encouragement and assurance of support from those who were going out of office as well as from those who were to remain; that in this as through life he had guided himself solely, as far as his judgment permitted, by the consideration of duty; that it was his comfort under the arduous task he had undertaken that it had been proposed to him in such a manner as left him no choice. He looks extremely pale and agitated. He told me he had just offered the place of Attorney General (with the advice of the Chancellor, but query whether he meant of Loughborough or Eldon) to Law, who had accepted; that Sir Richard Pepper Arden is to go to the Common Pleas, Grant to the Rolls, Lord Eldon to be Chancellor and Perceval to be Solicitor. I do not think he mentioned, and I did not ask him, what situation Lord Loughborough was to have—the general report yesterday was President of the Council.¹ I asked if Arden was not to be a peer. He said he could say nothing on that subject, but I take that for granted.²

He then asked when I sailed. I said in about a fortnight the ship might be ready, but that I could not now say what was to be the time of my departure or indeed my certain destination; that, however, as the subject had been mentioned I begged he would allow me to say to him, as Mr. Addington, or as he chose, as Minister, that I was very far from being ambitious of going to Africa, and that I should go there not from inclination but solely as a point of honour. He said he was glad to have had an opportunity of knowing what I felt in that respect from myself, and that he must see me again and would send to me.

I had understood from Dundas on Sunday that he was to send for me to his office at 3 yesterday. He did not, but I called at that hour. He was not there and had not been since 9 a.m. nor was expected and Huskisson³ was not to be seen. I then

¹ Loughborough did not return to office, but was advanced in the peerage as Earl of Rosslyn.

² Arden was raised to the peerage, as Baron Alvanley.

³ William Huskisson, one of the ablest politicians of his day, and specially expert in financial questions, was at this time Under-Secretary at War.

(on my way to the Princess's at Chelsea) called in Clarges Street and was let in, when I found him looking well and writing letters. He said he had last night at 10 o'clock been with Lord Macartney to offer and urge him to take the Board of Control, which he had refused; that he regretted this extremely, as he was sensible, well with the Directors, and acquainted with his (Dundas's) plans and would follow them up; that he was most anxious about the hands into which a department was to fall, which he had created and held for twenty years; that he had afterwards offered it to Grant, who had also declined. He said he could not bring himself to propose Hobart, who he says is disagreeable to the Directors, has not he fears so good a temper as is supposed, and would enter on the office with all his former projects, prejudices and dislikes; but that he should not object to him. He said Addington had that morning assured him he would not appoint any successor to him without "*telling him.*" "That," said Dundas, "was his word. He did not say without consulting me."

He then said, in my opinion with no great feeling of satisfaction, "Addington is a bold man." I asked him what his title was to be. He said none. He should return to Deneira, for he could not afford to live elsewhere. Dundas asked me when my ship would be ready. I said in a fortnight; that all my things were on board, but that I now could form no opinion. I added that in the present difficulty of choice, I might have occurred as a person who might be employed usefully at home. He said, "How do you know that they are aware that you would wish it?" That he himself would have no share in the arrangements (which Mr. Addington meant to keep entirely to himself). He afterwards said, "You would not stay at home for the Board of Control?" I said I certainly would, if my present situation were secured to me, and particularly the survivancy of Robinson's place.¹ I added, "You can judge better than me how far I had qualified or prepared myself for such a situation." He seemed to

¹ The office of Surveyor-General of Woods and Forests, to which Glenbervie was appointed on Robinson's death in 1802.

admit that I had, and said I had frequently passed in his mind on the present occasion.

In the course of the discourse I said this all seemed as a dream and could not last, that it seemed impossible to take the affairs of India out of his hands, etc. ; that whatever happened to me I should always entertain sentiments of gratitude and affection towards him, and regard him as an able Minister, and a worthy good-natured man ; but that I confessed that I felt very differently as to some other persons (I meant and I hope he understood only Pitt) ; I also said it was a pity it had been thought necessary to agitate the Catholic question during the war. This was on an observation from him that the King makes it a matter of conscience. He did not choose or was at a loss to give a reason, which confirms my doubt that he has had other motives.

It was a family party at Chelsea. We all agreed that if Pitt's resignation is a game it is shabby and will not answer.

We supped at Miss Berry's. Sam Thornton¹ told Smyth on Sunday that Pitt owes £40,000 and his only fortune is the Cinque Ports for life, worth nominally £4,000 but producing, as the late Lord Guilford who held it told Mr. Williams, only £2,700 in money and about £300 in perquisites. Coutts confirmed to me yesterday the desperate state of Pitt's affairs and the still more desperate condition of his brother's.

Feb. 11, 4.30 p.m.—I went yesterday at 12, having asked for an appointment at that hour, to Huskisson.

I found Huskisson and stated my hopes and wishes as to anticipated salary and my debt of £6,000 at 11 per cent. He undertook to mention my grounds to Dundas. Farquhar and Lord Macartney had in the morning concurred with Lady Glenbervie in advising me to do so. Both had also confirmed what Dundas had told me the day before, that Lord Macartney had refused the Board of Control. He had put it to Sir Walter, as his physician, whether it would be compatible with his state of health, who had told him it would not.

When our conversation on the advance of salary was near an

¹ A director of the Bank of England and member of Parliament.

end, Huskisson said he had a letter for me from the Speaker. It was that of yesterday's date appointing me at three.

The Speaker said he had reflected on what I said yesterday, and though he feared what he might propose was hardly an inducement, I might have the Board of Control (without the Secretaryship for the War Department).

This morning he said he thought Dundas would wish to have the matter mentioned by him (the Speaker) to Dundas before I mentioned it; that he had not seen him yesterday; that he would to-day, and begged to see me at 9, when he would give me *an hour*, and then go to the Duke of Portland. He told me he had mentioned me generally for office to the King last night, and bore testimony to my constitutional opinions; that the King said he knew me to be an *honest and a sound man*. He told me it is wished that Lord Chatham should go Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, with a good Commander-in-Chief, and a Secretary of State under him, who should reside six months here. I half thought he hinted a little towards me for that place, which I should much dislike.

At the play I was much struck with this line in *Othello* :

The very globe yawns to alteration.

Have I mentioned before my application of the line, *Je vois mes honneurs croître et baisser ma fortune*, to my own situation? I have said so to several people.

The King also said of me to Addington, "Besides he is connected with a family for which I have the greatest regard."

Feb. 13, Friday, 10 p.m.—In the course of the forenoon on Wednesday the 11th I found the King had directed Mr. Addington to renew the negotiations with Pelham, and express his desire that he should make part of the new arrangement, and that Pelham had on that communication consented. Lord Sheffield told me that he had called on Addington and urged him to make a new proposition. He told him it was impossible, he had refused twice, that he had still urged the value he would be to his administration, and Addington then said, "Would you have me go on my knees to him?" However, at night, he

informed me that Pelham had consented, but that as the office he had seemed to prefer (of Secretary for the War Department) had on his second refusal been given to Lord Hobart, he must offer him the Board of Control and had now to propose to me the Joint Paymastership, or the Secretary of Ireland—insinuating at the same time that the latter was in some degree to depend on the circumstances of the inclination of the new Lord Lieutenant. He told me Pelham must have a Cabinet place, as he had at first proposed one to him ; but that he did not intend in any other hands, even if Lord Macartney had accepted, that the President of Board of Control should be a Cabinet Minister ; that he also did not intend it to be an office of the same power and patronage as when it was held by Mr. Dundas. He said it might still open itself to me, although he desired not to take any engagement with me to that effect. I said, “The house will go with the Paymastership.” He said, “There is but one house.” I agreed, but that it had been given to the person I was to succeed. He then said, “You shall have the house.” The salary he understood was £2,000. I stated the debt I had contracted in preparing for the Cape. He said he could not enter into that, but that I should be brought into Parliament and that it would not be a dear seat. I said I could not afford to pay for one. He gave me leave to deliberate and consult my family till next morning (yesterday) at 10. I went to Lord Guilford’s with Lady Glenbervie immediately from the Speaker and on full consideration of my affairs with them, it became the joint opinion of all three that I should give up the Cape and take the Paymastership, and I went downstairs to Coutts to submit the matter to him, as I was going to give up the chance of the remittance of considerable savings to him to be applied to the discharge of the £5,000 he had just lent me, and also to take his advice. He not only consented, but advised me to stay, on which I told him I must make over my new salary to him, and he make us whatever allowance might be indispensable. His manner was very kind and liberal and he said we were not to consider what he must have but what we should require to live on. Lord Guilford seemed very happy when it was settled that his sister was not to go to

the Cape, as indeed was the case also with Lady Guilford and her father.

At 10 I went to the Speaker and agreed to accept the Joint Paymastership and house, though I stated that I should have wished, in order to make my circumstances more comfortable, that the salary could have been made £500 a year more. I said I should have preferred the Board of Control as more efficient, but suggested to him that Dundas had had thoughts of a Vice-President of the Board of Control and of me to fill it (this I had heard from William Dundas) and that such an appointment, though without salary, would gratify me, and might be useful. He seemed to like this idea, and said he would think of it. I accepted. He bid me not yet apprise Dundas. This I feel awkward (notwithstanding his letter of Tuesday night) but he has undertaken to set me right with him. He also authorised me to use his name at the Admiralty and Navy Board in order to have my goods again unshipped, and I instantly on my return from him got Arbuthnot to obtain a letter which was forwarded immediately to Captain Mulock.

Lady Katherine now avows an extreme joy on the change. Her infancy was passed in the very house we are likely to occupy.

Feb. 14, Saturday, 9 a.m.—Those who were present when Mitford¹ took the Chair do not seem to approve of his manner. He talked too much of his fortune and the emoluments he had sacrificed.

Lord Guilford told me Thursday forenoon that he remembered (in 1767) his father's walking up and down the large room at the Pay-Office deliberating and considering whether he should quit that place and take that of Chancellor of Exchequer, which had been just offered him, it being the general opinion that the Ministry would not last a month. When Pitt came in on the India Bill seventeen years ago, the universal prophecy among all classes, his friends as well as foes, [was] that his Administration would hardly continue a week. Similar conjectures now

¹ Sir John Freeman Mitford, who had succeeded Addington as Speaker. In 1802 he became Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Redesdale. He had previously been Attorney-General, hence his talk of sacrificed emoluments.

may be erroneous. I will, however, hazard a prophecy here (but only to myself) that Addington's reign as first Minister will be of short duration.

I informed Mr. Williams yesterday forenoon that I stay and am to be Joint Paymaster. His eyes filled with tears of joy. He tells me there is a great deal of pleasant patronage in the Pay Office, and that the Paymasters appoint alternately. He and Lord Guilford prefer it to the Board of Control. The situation of the house is extremely preferable. We talked the present state of things over. He is firmly persuaded there is a back plot and some other cause than Irish Catholic Emancipation; that Pitt will either return to office almost instantly or go into direct opposition. I told him some thought his mind impaired, recollecting Dundas's extraordinary account of him in that respect in my first conversation with him at Wimbledon on the amount and commencement of salary. He then seemed to think that Pitt's mind was probably worn out, and might any day become extinct. About the same time Sir Walter Farquhar told me many circumstances tending to the same inference—his weakness, his terror at reading the speech, either at Lord Grenville's or in the House, the first day of the Session. I also recollected his faltering, almost intoxicated voice, after a glass or two of wine and water at Hollwood the day I was there to converse on the subject of Union (June or July, 1798). This was the season of his duel ¹ and subsequent illness.

Mr. Williams on this occasion told me some curious circumstances of the Duke of Marlborough's imbecility. I had informed him that Pitt with his intimate friends bursts into tears whenever he spoke of the present explosion. I have heard this from Smyth and others. In public and mixed company he is remarkably cheerful and affects a disengaged mind. Williams says the Duke of Marlborough always wore his hat in and out of doors, and even at dinner, but whenever any great man was mentioned, as Prince Eugene, etc., or any great battle or

¹ With Tierney, who had challenged him because Pitt had accused him of trying to obstruct the defence of the country. Pitt, though unharmed in the duel, was subsequently ill, and the Opposition press reported him insane.

action, he pulled it off, and so repeatedly as often as they were mentioned. Lord Chief Baron Comyns, when a young man in Parliament, had made a speech in favour of the Duke on some accusation of him in the House of Commons. Long afterwards, when the Duchess was with him at Tunbridge, Comyns happened to meet them on the Pan Tiles. The Duke in other respects a mere slaving driveller and more, and who never spoke, pulled off his hat, and so repeatedly as they passed walking up and down. The Duchess knew not who Comyns was, but her curiosity led her to send to him to learn what might be the Duke's reason for this recollection and mark of respect, when he told his conjecture about it. She afterwards at table mentioned the name of a Mr. Comyns as being at Tunbridge, and the Duke every time he heard it pulled off his hat. The Lord Chief Baron Comyns told this anecdote himself to Mr. Williams.¹

3 *p.m.*—I went to Lord Liverpool. His object [in sending for me] seemed to be to tell me that he should expect me to work hard at his Board; that his son must leave it, and Ryder was often ill, undecided and unwilling to act, and is besides now engaged in the Corn Committee.

After this he ventured the subject of the change of Administration. He has heard that all the renewal of the Catholic business has been since the Birthday; that since then Lord Westmorland going one night to the Queen's House found the Archbishop of Canterbury was with the King, and that Lord Liverpool had since learned that the purpose of the visit was declared by the Archbishop to the King to be to show to him a letter to himself from Lord Auckland mentioning that he found it was intended to bring forward Catholic Emancipation. The King said, "My Lord, I suppose I am to consider Lord Auckland's letter to your Grace as meant, substantially, to be a letter to me, as he desires you to bring it me." The King then read it, and the Archbishop expressed his earnest hope that his Majesty would not abandon the Church.

¹ This anecdote is strikingly inconsistent with another about Marlborough and Comyns, already recorded by Glenberrie as told him by Lord Liverpool. See *p.* 91.

In consequence of this the King sent for Addington, told him his own opinion and what he understood of Pitt's, and bid him go to Pitt and try to engage him to relinquish the measure; but pressed him, if Pitt should not yield, to accept his situation, which it seems he agreed to. He did go to Pitt, who authorised him to tell the King that he would consent to postpone the question *for an interval*, but said also he would write to the King himself. Addington went and delivered the message, but while he was with the King Pitt's letter came, which said "for a *short interval*." This by no means satisfied the King.

There was afterwards a Cabinet, at which the Chancellor was not present, and Pitt said, "Perhaps he does not choose to be present," and no resolution there came to. This or a subsequent Cabinet with equal insufficiency of resolution took place on the Tuesday before the famous levee, on which a Cabinet was held, and Dundas came there from the levee and mentioned the King's words to him, that he should regard whoever should support the Catholic question as his *personal enemy*. Pitt said, "What are we to do? Let us draw up a sort of moderate test. Grenville, you are more used to writing, do you draw it up." He began but soon after said he could not do it, and thought they had better do nothing, and accordingly they broke up without doing anything. He is persuaded there is a *dessous des cartes*, of which he is or pretends to be ignorant, though he thinks some of them may have private reasons also, viz. Lord Spencer to retire with his reputation entire; that Lord Grenville has before talked of retreat; that he is a very particular man, and much addicted to study.

Heneage Legge said to Lady Glenbervie yesterday, "This Administration is as if the footmen were called up to the second table."

Feb. 15, Sunday, 10 a.m.—My situation is settled. Lord Liverpool told me yesterday that Pitt cried profusely at the audience he had to signify his resignation to the King, after the levee last Wednesday, and that he appeared much agitated when he came out of the Closet. He says his father did exactly so, in 1762, when he resigned.

On the fast day last Friday the clergy in almost all the pulpits in the metropolis seem to have sounded the alarm for the Church, and the desertion of the King and the administration of Government at this critical moment.

Lord North was much displeased when made Joint Paymaster at not having the whole office. Going up the stairs one day, followed by a messenger, and perceiving some filth on one of the steps, he said, "Take that away, and carry a half of it to Mr. Cook."

5 *p.m.*—Lord Brome was asked the other night who was to be his father's¹ successor. He answered "Buonaparte." He is no wit, but there was wit in that reply.

It is reported that Horne Tooke² is actually chosen for Old Sarum, and that Lord Camelford says if he is voted out as a priest, he has a *black* candidate in reserve. Another story is, that having asked Horne Tooke what would most vex the Ministers, he answered to bring in a black.

Feb. 16, Monday, 8.30 a.m.—This is Lady Glenbervie's birthday. She remembers her father looking often from the windows in Downing Street towards the Pay Office on occasions when he was tired and vexed in his more eminent situation. "Would I had never quitted that house. That was indeed a comfortable situation."

We dined yesterday at John Sullivan's. The company, ourselves, John and Lady Harriet, Lord and Lady Sheffield, Lady Charlotte, Lady Charles Stuart, her second son, and Colonel Fullerton. Lady Stuart says she called on Lady Glenbervie about three weeks ago to take leave of her; that a cart stood at the door loading with our baggage; that this seemed to her a very melancholy sight and, having afterwards seen the same cart heavy laden moving slowly down Piccadilly, it struck her as if it had been our hearse, and she thought certainly we should never return from the Cape.

The new Government seems to me to want the sufficient

¹ Lord Cornwallis, who had just resigned the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

² Tooke's election resulted in the passage of an Act declaring clergymen ineligible for the House of Commons.

proportion of three things—brains, blood and gold, *i.e.* abilities, family and property. If they are thought stable, abilities will come to knock at their door, and property will shelter itself behind them. I found yesterday two men of very good abilities, and eager ambition and vanity, impatient to enlist.

Lord Guilford said last night he knew that the Prince of Wales had written to Pitt some time ago, before the present political explosion, that his opinion was for the repeal, and that since then he had personally told Addington that his opinion was so, but that he should not act in any respect against his father's Government.

Lady Jane Dundas is said to be much out of spirits. The Duchess of Gordon's wit and jokes are circulated against Addington and company, and she has almost forbid her house to Lady Clare, not I believe from any scruples in regard to her gallantries.

Feb. 17, Tuesday, 12 m.—I called on Rose yesterday at the Treasury. He talked in general about the change and state of affairs, chiefly as to himself, said his line was clear, he had been in office with Pitt seventeen years and a half without any interruption he believed of friendship or confidence; that he would therefore as soon consent to the prostitution of his daughter as remain behind him; that this, however, was a matter of feeling more than of judgment, and he had strongly recommended to others to remain in office.

Feb. 18, Wednesday, 8 a.m.—The return of Horne Tooke is likely to be one of the first thorns in the side of the new Minister. Is a *priest* eligible? By what tribunal is the question to be tried? He was walking about the House from bench to bench yesterday followed by Sir Francis Burdett. He looks very old and is lame.

The public mind, particularly the political mind, and most especially the Irish mind, is in an excessive ferment, from whence much ardent spirits and no small share of vinegar will be produced.

3 p.m.—Lady Glenbervie had just heard from Lady Sheffield, who says she knows it to be true, that last Thursday at the

drawing-room the Prince of Wales said to Lady Ely, a large fat Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, "Pray let me stand behind you, the Princess looks so beautiful to-day, I want to look at her without being observed."

Feb. 19, Thursday, 8.30 a.m.—Pelham has refused the Board of Control with the Cabinet and the House of Peers, but says he will support without office. This Lord Sheffield told me yesterday and added, "I think it possible you might have it," having introduced the discourse with abundant contempt and abuse of Addington, Pitt, Ministers, them, they, etc., etc. I suspected he had been employed to sound me, and that Pelham might perhaps be willing to take the Pay Office. I answered immediately I preferred that situation. I then asked if he had been commissioned, which he denied.

The Speaker [Addington] sent for me last night by a note, but I was from home, and when I went to him at 11 found him gone to bed. Not I fear to sleep. I am going to know what he wishes to say this morning. I fear it may be to propose the Secretaryship of Ireland or the Board of Control. I am *quasi* determined to take neither.

I prefer the Pay Office and to be out of the Cabinet, and yet with the Board of Control I think I should be let down if I did not require the Cabinet after Pelham has been offered it, and also and more especially because on consideration it seems to me that the office will be nothing if not a Cabinet office.

But in truth I do not believe the present yet not formed Administration will last a month.

Addington must have secured a retreat before he could possibly quit the roses of the Chair for the thorns of the Treasury.

1.30 p.m.—I breakfasted with Addington and his daughter. During breakfast he said, "We are going on well. It would give you pleasure to hear of the assurance of support I receive." His brother came in. He (the elder) took me into another room. I think I had foreseen everything he said.¹

¹ Addington offered Glenbervie the Board of Control, which Pelham (as noted) had refused. Glenbervie, for reasons which he gives at great length, preferred to stick to the Paymastership.

We parted very amicably. I asked when I was to kiss hands. He said perhaps to-morrow. He would let me know. I said, "I need do nothing about resignation yet?" He said, "No."

I must resign at last the Government of the Cape.

Farquhar has been here. His patient the Prince dines with him to-day. He has another story about the Prince and Lady Ely. The Prince told him last night the King was mad with anger against Dundas and Pitt. The King has a cold. The Prince yesterday after seeing him said to the Queen he was heated and feverish, and that the Queen with warmth and hastily said, "He is not. He has not been feverish."

I find there are great flockings of minor politicians into Carlton House.

Feb. 20, Friday, 7.30 a.m.—I called on Lord Guilford about 4 yesterday, and in a long and very interesting and amicable conversation stated to him what had passed between me and Addington together with the various reasons and motives of my conduct. Among others I mentioned the wish to avoid the appearance of fickleness. He said as to that, the world he thought would not ascribe the change to that cause, but would naturally think that I had preferred the Board of Control as a place of more consequence. "But," said I, "what will they think most prudent and wise?" He answered, "They will probably think your continuing where you are wise, and would attribute your taking the other place, in the present circumstances, to a foolish ambition." I said, "Is not prudence a better thing than ambition, though without such an epithet?"

The Dean of Manchester had just called on him and said, "It is a most groundless report about the King, for I have just met Dr. Willis who was coming from him, and who assures me he has only got a cold."¹

We talked of Addington and Pitt's motives and the probability of Addington being able to go on. On the latter subject I own I incline strongly and so does the world in general to the negative.

¹ The King had caught a cold on Feb. 15. A week later signs of insanity appeared, induced by the worry over Pitt's resignation; and although he quickly recovered sufficiently to see his old and new Ministers, he was not out of his doctor's hands until the end of June.

But Lord Guilford agreed with me in observing on the other side that though Addington does not possess the eloquence and wit of Lord North, nor the eloquence and extraordinary powers of Pitt, yet if he can stand up firm for a few weeks while attacked by all the invective, vehemence, sarcasm, virulence, menaces, affected contempt and ridicule which will be used in order to bully or laugh him out of his place, the Opposition or the House will get tired of that sort of warfare, and men of property, rank, and talents will then cling to him. I said my idea was that he must know and have considered how far and how long he could bear the load he had taken upon his shoulders; that his rise to and conduct in the Chair proved him a man of considerable intellect; that he was (as he is) a good observer of the characters of others; and unless we were to suppose he had been dazzled or flattered out of his senses by the King's talent of persuasion (which is universally known to be very great), he must have weighed himself, and must either have embarked without providing specifically for an early retreat, in the confidence of being able to go on, or else have agreed to try to form a new Administration, and set it afloat with a stipulation that he should then, if he found it necessary or advisable, have leave to retire to the House of Lords with a pension. But that pension must be either parliamentary, which on the last supposition might be difficult to obtain, or on the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents, which would be very invidious.

As to Pitt's motives he seemed to agree that they could hardly be the Catholic question, and that in the general ignorance of any other the most probable were either the despair of longer support, or the state of his mind. I recollected Dundas's account to me of Pitt in the month of October or November last, and particularly that he said he thought perhaps his mind, which had become mature so early, was quite gone, and also what Farquhar had told me yesterday morning, viz. that there are circumstances about Pitt's health known only to Mr. Addintgon and himself. He also told me that Pitt would not go to read the King's speech to the Cabinet on the opening of the last session, and had declared that he thought he could not

bring himself to attend in the House of Commons. Lord Guilford told Lady Katherine that he knows from unquestionable authority that Pitt has been mad.

What a state of things at home during a war, and such a war.

I called yesterday on Lord St. Vincent and found John Markham¹ with him. He immediately enquired after my nephew, and spoke highly of Manby's² character. He is in good looks, and says he never was in better health. He is very courtly and civil, perhaps betraying somewhat in that respect his being of the Lansdowne school. But it is understood that he has been for some time on bad terms with that nobleman.

Among the first words Lord St. Vincent said to me were, "I am very glad you don't go to the Cape. By all the accounts I have heard it is a *damnable place*." It is very odd that about a fortnight ago I dreamed that I fell in company with Dr. Pitcairn,³ whom I had not seen since his return from Lisbon, that he shook my hand and said, "Well, I hear you are going to the Cape. It is a most *damnable* climate."

4.30 p.m.—In consequence of a note this morning from Mr. Addington I attended a Council at the Queen's House, where the new Ministers kissed hands and such as were not before Privy Counsellors were sworn in. No lawyers were presented but Law. The Chancellor (Lord Loughborough) attended with the Seals, and presented him. Pitt, Lord Eldon, the Master of the Rolls were not there. Lord Townshend and Lord Auckland were the only Privy Counsellors present not belonging to the Court, or persons newly appointed. Addington told me he had stated what I had wished to Dundas, and as he rendered it to me, in the terms I should have wished to have used myself. He said Dundas said there never could be any want of cordiality

¹ Admiral John Markham had served under St. Vincent throughout the war and was now his colleague at the Admiralty.

² Thomas Manby, at this time captain, eventually rear-admiral. His ambiguous relations with the Princess of Wales will bring him into later pages of this journal.

³ David Pitcairn, a well-known physician, who discovered the connection between rheumatic fever and valvular disease of the heart. His own health was bad, and he had been to Portugal for its benefit.

between him and Lord Glenbervie, and that he would send to speak to me. We shook hands but he said nothing to-day.

When I kissed hands the King said, "Do you remember what I said at Windsor?" I said, "Most perfectly." He said, "Have I acted up to it?" I bowed. He said, "I think you looked as if you approved." I bowed, meaning assent—as to the point. He asked me if I recollected what Lord Hawkesbury had said then, for that he used words of approbation but he could not recollect them, and he had to-day asked Lord Hawkesbury himself, but he could not recollect them.

Lord Grenville looked very ill. The King in passing him on his return from the Council seemed to speak snappishly and even angrily to him. It was merely in passing, and I thought it seemed to be about an audience. The King said, "Well, I am quite ready for you."

Feb. 21, Saturday, 11.30.—I called on Lord Malmesbury to-day. He is lame, his deafness increased, and seemed to me to look very ill. Yet I thought I discovered a hankering in him for diplomatic employment. He said we have nobody of talent abroad, that Lord Grenville is a clever man, but that he acts always on what is right in his opinion in the abstract, and believes that because he thinks so those he deals with must come to think and act so, and that he makes no allowance for what he thinks would be wrong conduct in foreign states and ministers, never seeming to think it possible that they may persevere in such conduct.

He says when he knew the Emperor of Russia as Grand Duke, he was a great talker and in the style of sentiment and fine sentiments then in vogue in France; that his mother treated him with great harshness; that he appears now to be a coward and brutal, slapping his courtiers in the face, kicking his children, etc.; that he had determined to arrest the King of Sweden the day following that on which he left Petersburg. He says he apprehends very little danger from the Armed Neutrality.

The Board of Control seems still open. Lord Malmesbury [or Macartney] thinks it will be still offered to me. I said I

would not take it for various reasons—one, that I could not be sure that Dundas might not be hurt with me for immediately taking a place the business of which was such a favourite occupation of his. He said he thought if Addington were to say, "It is necessary for the King's Government that you should," you must. I said, "Addington will not think himself entitled to say so to me."

It is said to be a common report that it is in contemplation to offer me that added to my present office. Lord Guilford says he thinks they ought; that it was at first intended, or said to be intended, to join it to some of the considerable offices with good salaries and little business. But who will take the labour and vexations of it without a specific salary?

Arbuthnot has heard it surmised that some great man (the Duke of Montrose) is to be offered it, with an efficient Board or Vice-President who shall do the business. I said I think that the Duke would not take it on such an understanding, and that I thought the system of dry nurses was not a good one nor creditable to the principal or the other.

Feb. 22, Sunday, 11 a.m.—Dr. Moss, formerly Chaplain to D.C. [House of Commons] under Addington and an acquaintance of Canning's, told me yesterday that among his acquaintances it is a general belief that Canning used to *quiz* the Speaker; that Pitt did not discourage this; that he had also spoken in a disparaging manner of his talents; that these things had been perceived or heard of by Addington before the late break up. We talked over the probability of permanency. A common friend of his and Addington's told him he had asked the latter if he thought he could.

Lord Auckland at the Queen's House was paying me some cold compliments of congratulation on my remaining at home. I said, "*Nous verrons*, but at any rate home is home," etc. This led him to tell me a joke of the present Duke of Marlborough's. He had been to dine at a poor clergyman's in the neighbourhood of Blenheim, and had an uncomfortable dinner. On entering the park on his return home in the evening he said to those of his family in the coach with him, "Well, home is

home, etc.” He says, and Lady Glenbervie confirms it, that the Duke has a good deal of humour.

5.30.—I remained an hour with Lord Liverpool. He told me Mr. Pitt has not yet sent him his correspondence with the King, but that he has been informed of the purport of a great part. The first letter it seems contained a statement of what the King had said to us at Windsor, and which he had sent or shown to Lord Hawkesbury, who confirmed its correctness. The conclusion of the last letter, which was full of civility and kind expressions to Pitt, concluded nearly, “This is a contest between affection and duty. I find myself obliged to decide, and I therefore decide on the side of duty.”

I sat afterwards near an hour with Williams. He said he went over the Pay Office house with Lord North when he took possession; that in one of the rooms to the Park an old porter who showed the house told them that room was remarkable for two things—that Mr. Winnington had died, and Mr. Pitt had consummated his marriage in it.

Feb. 23, Monday, 10 p.m.—The bulletin to-day was that the King had slept a few hours in the night but that he had still fever. There was great apparent confusion when Lady Glenbervie called among the attendants and servants at the Queen’s House.

I attended the Council at 2 on the subject of some applications for modifications of the embargo on East Country vessels respecting freight. When it broke up Sir Stephen Cotterell told Ryder and me he had heard at the Board of Green Cloth that Dr. Willis was attending the King, and that several new persons had been put about him last night. I heard the same or a similar report from the Duke of Roxburgh whom I met on my return home, and about two hours ago Farquhar called upon me and confirmed the truth of what all these appearances too clearly indicate. There was it seems a meeting of all the old and new Ministers yesterday, which when I first heard of it seemed to me ill-advised as tending to increase the belief of a juggle, but I now suppose it was held for the purpose of deliberating on the fatal emergency of the King’s illness.

When Sir Stephen Cotterell mentioned to-day what he had heard, he remarked that it was an unhappy circumstance that any question had arisen to agitate the King and risk the dreadful calamity of a return of his disorder. Ryder immediately said, "I do not believe that question has agitated him at all. It is mere distemper. When he was seized on the former occasion there was no pretext of anything in public affairs that could affect him." Ryder is one of Pitt's personal friends, who is said to have had great scruples about keeping his place.

Lord Liverpool told me yesterday that the King had said to his son [Hawkesbury] on delivering the seals to him, that he had often given them away, *but in no instance with so much pleasure*. Some would think this a symptom. But I believe it was only a compliment.

I forget whether I have mentioned above the conversation of the King with me at the drawing room after Dundas had notified to me that he had approved of my nomination, and as I learned from Dundas afterwards the day after Pitt had mentioned to him my peerage, and obtained his consent. He had obtained it the day before at the levee. At that levee the King talked to me of my approaching voyage, though I did not kiss hands till long afterwards. But at the drawing room he did not allude to the peerage but only said, "Is there not a Latin proverb which says, '*Bis dat qui cito dat*'?" I said "Yes." He then, after a little pause, said, "I do not like expedients. I am for decision on principle," or some words to that effect. This seemed odd and to Lady Glenbervie looked like illness. But in his case suspicions have so often arisen which have proved groundless that I had become sceptical, and from his whole behaviour that and the former day I ascribed those words rather to what had passed the day before between Pitt and him. I now believe that the "*Bis dat qui cito dat*," must have arisen from Pitt's having said he wished to suspend my peerage till he could arrange the others which were to take place before the Union; that this occurred first to the King when he saw me; that in the same audience Pitt had proposed some expedient to avoid the rejection of the Catholic Emancipation, which had irritated

the King's mind, at that time certainly full of that subject, and that supposing me more acquainted with what was passing than I was, he spoke in that way by allusion. But there may have been disease mixed.

Feb. 24, Tuesday, 8.30 a.m.—Sir Walter Farquhar told me last night that the turn of the King's madness is religion and his Coronation Oath. That will be a ground with some for accusing Lord Auckland and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Pitt will take either that line or the other, of mere disease, not brought on by the agitation of any question of Government, as it may suit him, or with different people each of the two lines.

I hear from various quarters that the Prince is much at the Queen's House. I also hear from good authority that the Prince is likely to adhere to Mr. Pitt. Fox is come to town, and lodges at Lord Fitzwilliam's.

Lady Glenbervie heard yesterday that the King had said to Lord Chatham on Thursday, "I have a bad cold, but it is much the worse for your brother."

In discussing with Lady Glenbervie yesterday the future chances of this country and its Government, she told me that she had frequently heard her father say to Lady Guilford, who as well as old Lord Guilford had always been against the Coalition with Fox, "O Nance, it would have been happy for me if I had taken your advice. There is no action in my life that I have such cause to regret." There is no doubt all his near relations but his sons, and a few politicians, were against it, and there is no doubt he lost dignity, those who judge unfavourably say character, by it.

Adam told me some time ago that Sir W. Pulteney says he is possessed of positive proof that Pitt has been actually mad. Mr. Dundas's first conversation with me at Wimbledon after his second return from Cheltenham gave me the impression that he had either been so or near it, or that it was to be apprehended, and a few days ago Farquhar told me that there are things concerning Pitt's illness which nobody but Addington and he knows. Addington's father was Lord Chatham's physician and attended him I believe during the famous time when he was

Privy Seal with the Duke of Grafton (after George Grenville's Administration), during a great part of which time none of his fellow Ministers ever saw him, though he came in as head of that Ministry, and formed it. They used to communicate with him by Lady Chatham.

11 *p.m.*—It is now known that the King is deranged. Pitt's friends avow it, and say it is most prudent to do so. The courtiers in their public conversation try still to deny it. Many circumstances I hear daily incline me to believe that the King's mind has been for some time set on getting rid of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, and that he has for a still longer time had a similar wish as to Mr. Dundas. As to the latter it has been universally believed ever since his Majesty's refusal to confirm the nomination of Lord Granville Leveson to a regiment in summer, 1799. After giving his ultimate negative in that affair he came on the terrace at Windsor and said publicly to the people about him, "Well, I have got the better, or I have gained a victory over Dundas." Some little time ago as he was hunting he fell into conversation with Mr. J. Villiers.¹ Thornton,² the Bank Director, a particular adherent of Pitt's, riding by, the King asked Villiers who it was, and being told he said, "I hate such canting Methodists," and then, as is represented, began singing aloud, "Youth's a season fit for joy, Love is then our duty." This story is now adduced as a proof that his derangement has been coming on some time.

It is deserving observation that the approach of his former illness, as of the present, was distinguished by indiscreet language and communications to persons not officially or habitually in his confidence, relative to the characters, abilities and conduct of his different Ministers. Everybody heard, when he was at Cheltenham in 1788, of his discourse of that sort with a Mr. Hunt or—a rattling, talking gentleman residing near that place. I infer from thence that his madness may have been

¹ Perhaps John Charles Villiers (afterwards third Earl of Clarendon) who had been Comptroller of the Household from 1787 to 1790.

² Henry Thornton, Governor of the Bank of England, a great authority on finance and a member of the "Clapham Sect," who did much for missionary and philanthropic enterprise.

brought on then, and now, more from his finding the empire Mr. Pitt exercised over him intolerable to his feelings and pride than from any other cause.

Feb. 26, Wednesday, 4 p.m.—I met Lally, whom I had not seen for a long time, yesterday at dinner at Ramus's. He tells me his daughter boards in the same house with Mlle. Beauharnais, Buonaparte's daughter-in-law.¹ That Buonaparte and Mme. Buonaparte had lately desired to breakfast with the mistress of the boarding house.

Lally has heard from Edward Jerningham² that the Prince had sent for Lord Carlisle and expressed his confidence in him as he had supported his rights in 1788. That ground for confidence belongs in common to almost all the members of the old coalition. This intelligence Jerningham had [from] Lord Carlisle himself, and he had also told Lally, I believe from the same authority, that Pitt and Addington had been with the Prince, and that Addington had declared that in the present state of things it was better that Mr. Pitt should remain in office. It is supposed that the Prince has thrown himself into the hands of Pitt, and that Pitt will propose that, under actual circumstances, it will be fit to devolve the regal authority without the old restrictions on the Prince.

Among many *bons mots* flying about those of the Duchess of Gordon³ are numerous. Sir Walter Farquhar was mentioning Mr. Pitt's tranquility of mind, and said he frequently played at *Pope Joan*, on which the Duchess said, "I wish he would occupy himself less about the *Pope* and more about *Joan*."

Sir John Coxe Hippisley has just married, *en secondes nœces*, Mrs. Hippisley Coxe,⁴ who it seems is of a masculine character,

¹ That is to say his step-daughter, the child of Josephine's first marriage. In 1802 she married Napoleon's brother Louis, King of Holland.

² Poet and dramatist, who had had plays produced at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Now an old man, he had been a friend of Chesterfield and Horace Walpole.

³ Jane Maxwell, first wife of the fourth Duke of Gordon, was celebrated in her day alike as a beauty, a wit, a political hostess (Tory), and a matchmaker.

⁴ Widow of Henry Hippisley Coxe, M.P. for Somerset.

having at some time or other expressed a wish to be made a Justice of Peace. Sir John has just called and explained his relationship by his new marriage to Lady Glenbervie—through the Spekes. When he was gone John Lindsay said, “Sir John has taken the Pope by the hand.”¹ “Yes,” said Lady Glenbervie, “and the Pretender.” “And,” said Lady Charlotte, “according to accounts his wife may perhaps complete the usual trio.”

Lady Katherine recollects that when the King was ill at Windsor in 1788, she was told by some of the courtiers that, being told that Lord North had been from Bushey Park to enquire after his health, he answered, “Ay, poor man, I am sure he is sorry for me.”

Hare says he thinks we ought to send the same message to Buonaparte that the Governor of Cadiz did to Sir Ralph Abercromby, viz. that we are in such a state of weakness and distress that it would be cowardly to attack us.

Sheridan was seen going into Carlton House yesterday. A coalition between Pitt and Fox is surmised. Lord Guilford says, justly I should think, that he cannot believe either will give up the Treasury to the other.

Feb. 28, Saturday, 12.30 p.m.—Fawkener told me yesterday that the King had said to himself some time ago at Weymouth that he never meant to interfere with his Ministers, but to leave them to conduct the Government according to their own judgment. Fawkener mentioned this as an argument to show how much the King must consider the present question as a point of duty.

I recollect now the purport of the words he used to us at Windsor was: “I am glad of the Union as it will take away all pretext (or ground) for admitting the Catholics. What? What? etc., etc., etc.”

Lady Glenbervie recollected this morning an anecdote her grandmother, Lady Drake, used to relate of a little parson in her neighbourhood, of the name of Sybthorpe, who mentioned

¹ He was a strong supporter of Catholic Emancipation, on which he wrote several pamphlets.

to her his intention of proposing himself to a widow lady of some fortune and who was entitled to the next presentation to a good living and added, "You know, my Lady, a little smock simony does no harm."

The King said to Law, Attorney General, when he kissed hands last Friday, "It is good that you have not before been in Parliament; you will have no words to eat. The less you pledge yourself, the less inconvenience you will bring upon yourself."

Reeves told us at the Council Office when this was mentioned that the late Chief Baron Eyre told him that on his presentation as Chief Baron the King said, "As you have never been in Parliament you will not have so many words to eat as your friend Dunning."

5 p.m.—The bulletin says, "The King's fever continues but is somewhat abated." Private reports say he is considerably better. Ogilvie says the Duke of York told him it certainly is so. I met the two Steeles and mentioned this and that the Duke is reckoned very correct. The brothers said, "Ay, but he wishes it to be so, and if the Prince and Duke of Clarence are less, yet as they two give a different account that balances the account," they thus seemed to admit that both the Prince and Duke of Clarence wish the contrary.

I have had a long conversation with Lady Malmesbury. She abuses Pitt as full of trick, falsehood and inconsistency; says he is detected, that he has fine words but no real abilities; that his conduct on the Catholic question cannot have arisen from that question; that he has all his life governed from circumstances, not on principle, etc.; that she knows many private instances of his disregard to his honour.

There is a report of a Regency of five, viz. Prince of Wales, Lord Loughborough, Lord Moira, Lord Spencer and Pitt.

March 2, Monday, 9 a.m.—Yesterday morning I called on the Chancellor in church time, not suspecting him of going much to morning service though he has become the champion of the Church. I wished to talk to him about his paper and to borrow Lord Castlereagh's to which it is an answer, but, like all other politicians great and small at this moment, I foresaw

that he would be unwilling to enter on the present subject of anxiety. His manner of fencing and my complete victory amused me very much. On knocking at the gate I walked in, taking my admission for granted, and was shown into his library, where I remained near a quarter of an hour before he came to me. He then arrived booted and stood by the fire, without desiring me to sit down.

As he entered the room I had received him by saying I hoped I did not interrupt or disturb him, having merely called to ask him how he did. He said he was going out soon and could not stay long in the room, having a little purging. He then began an account of the King's illness, ascribing it entirely to a cold caught on the fast-day, when the King had gone to chapel without breakfast, partly from an idea of religious duty, partly from a sort of neglect or forgetfulness he is liable to in regard to his meals and eating ; that he felt and complained of a shivering as he returned from chapel ; that he was also constipated and full of bile ; that probably warm wine and water would have cured him ; that Gisborne¹ gave him James's Powder ; that this heated him and produced his fever, which was aggravated by the pressure of business. In short not a hint of his state of mind, his having ever been mad in his life or of the Catholic question having ever existed. He then said he had had such a cold last year, and thinking it might be gout had taken a gout medicine, which occasioned a fever which he left me to imply was like the King's. When he had related all this with the sort of prosing known to have long belonged to him, I seemed to be going away, but mentioned as by chance my having read his paper, of which I spoke with the praise due to it, and expressed my wish to see that to which it was an answer. He then went gradually and at last pretty cordially into the subject, mentioned three papers of Lord Castlereagh's and three answers of his, viz. one on tithes, one on a provision for the Catholic clergy in Ireland, and one on Catholic Emancipation.

At Lord Mendip's last night Lord Bayning told me Canning

¹ Thomas Gisborne, physician in ordinary to the King and President of the Royal College of Physicians.

was to have [been] made an Irish Viscount last summer and Lord Guilford said yesterday that Mrs. Canning just before Pitt's resignation was to have been an English peeress.¹

9 *p.m.*—I went with Mr. Barnes to Dr. Vincent,² Mrs. Clapham, Mr. Smith, and Dr. Wingfield, to speak about Frederic's going to school. I believe he will enter to-morrow and will probably be put into the Upper Third Form, *i.e.* the Upper Form of the Lower School. They seem to think he has been advanced too fast, having learned a little Greek at his age of ten.

The Prince of Wales did not come to Lord Guilford (although he had himself made the appointment) but sent him word "that he had proposed to call upon him to talk over the state of affairs, but that on consideration he had thought it better not," "which," added Lord Guilford, "I also think."

March 3, Tuesday, 9.30 a.m.—The King had been violent, or his fever had increased, in the night between Sunday and Monday and a less favourable bulletin disappointed the public, the loyal and the humane, yesterday morning, but, strange to say, there were many countenances in which it was not difficult to read that it was not to them a disagreeable disappointment. Yesterday evening the news at an assembly which I went to at the Duchess of Gordon's was that the King had had some quiet sleep and was better yesterday afternoon.

Lord Guilford has heard that a considerable time, *i.e.* perhaps some weeks since, the King riding in the manège with Montagu, the person at the head of his stables, stopped him short on a sudden, caught hold of the breast of his coat with both hands and said, "Keep out the Pope." This is given as one of the proofs that his madness has been gradually coming on, and that it is of a religious kind.

March 4, Wednesday, 6 a.m.—The poor King was avowedly much better yesterday. I saw in the morning a note from young Willis to Addington which stated that he had slept from 11 to 4

¹ Mrs. Canning was eventually created Viscountess Canning, but not until 1828, after her husband's death.

² Headmaster of Westminster School. In 1802 he became Dean of Westminster.

and from half after 4 to past 6, and was then asleep. That when he awoke he was quite calm, and his pulse at 84.

The crowds on foot, on horseback, and in carriages who press through all the avenues to see the bulletin, for no verbal account is given or any enquiries answered by the servants who attend, is really astonishing. They are prompted by various motives, but I really believe love, affection and pity for the King predominate. The cheering and expanding countenances of the greatest part of those whom one met on their return yesterday anticipated a favourable bulletin, as a contrary appearance foretold or confirmed the account of the morning before.

Lady Glenbervie heard last night from Lady Malmesbury that in the morning when the King was dressing, which he did as usual it seems, and the page had laid his ordinary dress by him, he turned to Willis and said, "Must I put on the waistcoat?" and that Willis replied, "I trust in God, sir, it will not be necessary." What can be so affecting? and how heartless must that politician be, if there are any such, who can reflect without compunction on the share he may possibly have had, from whatever motive good or bad, in reducing his master to so melancholy a situation.

8 *a.m.*—Lady Katherine, talking of expense and unnecessary dinners, etc., mentioned just now a story Mrs. Keene is used to tell of a person in the country at whose house a family of friends had made rather a long visit. As they were going away the lady said, "I am afraid we have given you a great deal of trouble." "O ma'am," said the gentleman, "not at all. The trouble is nothing, the expense is the thing."

I had a long conversation yesterday with Monsignor Erskine.¹ His Cardinal Hat is to be declared on his arrival at Rome. He says he requested he might not be declared till then. The King it seems talked to him of it. On his mentioning this I recollected the kindness and familiarity with which the King used to treat him, and the protection he has given to the See of Rome during the war, as well as the pension to the Cardinal of York. Those

¹ Charles Erskine, a Scot and originally a barrister; papal ambassador in England.

who reflect on these circumstances must be very stupid or very wicked to impute the King's present inflexibility and disorder to bigotry and religious frenzy.

Erskine agrees that the present time, and the mode used for bringing forward and forcing the Emancipation is highly culpable, even in his eyes, whose duty it is in a peaceable and rational manner to wish and hope for the extension of Catholicism. He says he is first cousin to Lord Kellie, but there are several others before him, and if he came to the earldom, he should beg not to live in "the East Nook" (the eastern part of Fifeshire is so called).

To show the moderate spirit of his mind, I remember he was present at the christening of the present Lady Guilford's eldest daughter.

March 5, Thursday, 8 a.m.—I placed Fred yesterday at Westminster School, and felt as if I should have liked to have entered myself at the same time in order to accompany him in his daily progress. There is a noble simplicity in the manner in which the boys are treated and managed. But, still, though my passion for the ancients grows with me every day, and I feel all the defects of our Scotch education, I think too much time and too much importance is given to Latin and Greek at all the public schools in England. I like the general tendency and course of those establishments to keep the scholars boys till they are ripe for manhood, but it seems a pity that more pains has not been taken to mix other acquirements, according to their probable destinations, with the learning of the two classical languages. Another defect I think is that they are not practised and habituated in a familiar use of those languages in writing and speaking, and taught also to pronounce them, not only in our English way but according to the method of the different foreign nations. It is owing to this neglect that very few English scholars (though perhaps there are more thorough scholars in England than in any other country) can communicate with facility either in correspondence or conversation, with learned men abroad, or those who come from the Continent to visit this country, in that language which was long and ought still

to continue to be the medium of intercourse for men of science who do not speak the same native language.

I remember in the tour I made through Hungary in an early part of my life, in the company of Lord Ilchester (then Lord Stavordale) and Mr. Charles Digby, it often happened that at the inns and otherwise, where Latin happened to be the only language we could resort to (which was very frequently the case, especially in Upper Hungary), I was found to be much the most expeditious and copious interpreter, and, indeed, in a few days, came to be able to converse with the gentlemen or clergymen I fell in with with very reasonable fluency. My two friends, on the other hand, the first educated at Eton, and the other at Westminster, had their Virgil and Horace at their finger's ends, and were constantly laughing at me for the false quantities I was then apt enough to commit, and to remedy which has been a matter of very great attention, labour and even anxiety—if such a consideration can deserve such a feeling—in the subsequent part of my life.

Fred went off with considerable emotion, but he kept it under very well, and Barnes and I left him well satisfied with his behaviour, though if he had perceived my agitation I doubt if he would have done quite so well. His poor mother, as on all other occasions worth exertion, saw him leave Bruton Street like a heroine. The separation is little—at present less than at Sunbury—but this is a new epoch, and though the relation of mother and son will I am sure remain ever equally tender and affectionate between them, its mode and form will be different, and till the new habit is formed must seem somehow less endearing. But it is our duty to resist the softening tendency of such feelings, and I know she will not fail in this part of her duty.

Why does it happen that in casting about for talents to recruit into a new ministry, especially those of parliamentary eloquence, so few distinguished men, not among Pitt's favourites or in Fox's faction, have been found? Is it a real dearth of great abilities, or is it not because Pitt with the exception of only one or two among his favourites has universally, and in all lines and

branches, discouraged and repressed those who might have come too near himself? A mean jealousy, unworthy of a great mind, and not the only abatement from his character as a true statesman. This observation is not dictated by spleen (though I have some apology for that feeling towards him). Many of his greatest eulogists and closest adherents are forced to acknowledge its truth.

The long, long speeches of the two leaders, Pitt and Fox, and a few others, who exhaust the subject and the House's patience and leave nothing to the junior counsel, is another cause.

March 7, Saturday, 9 a.m.—At Lord Mendip's last night I saw Lady Cecilia Johnson, her daughter Mrs. Anderson, and her daughter-in-law Mrs. Johnson. Mrs. Anderson was dressed out for an assembly but something had happened to her horses, which had disappointed her, and she let her spleen overflow to me, in a long *tête-à-tête*, by abusing the French, with whom she has constantly lived. She has a great fluency in their language and a manner as if she spoke it well. But on listening I found her very incorrect. She neither knows her verbs nor her nouns, and rather mimics good French than speaks it. She is a famous mimic in general, but I have found none of our ladies who frequent and court French society (or rather did so before the Revolution) speak with reasonable correctness. Lady Clermont's French is wretched, but she is the first to acknowledge it, which was not the case with the late Mrs. North. I once heard her complain to the last of the French Ambassadors, poor La Luzerne, *qu'il ne venoit jamais la voir dans sa boîte à l'Opéra*.

Lady Katherine says young Johnson when a boy went about saying that a great honour was about to happen to their family—that the Prince of Wales was going to keep his sister, Mrs. Anderson. The Prince it seems did coquet with her for a short time. If they had come together I believe he would have found more than an anticipation of Lady Jersey, at least as to temper and malice. Mrs. Johnson on the contrary has all the good nature and good temper and no inconsiderable share of the good

looks of the Campbells, though Mrs. Anderson is undoubtedly much handsomer. Mrs. Johnson is a natural daughter of Lord Frederick Campbell's.

March 8, Sunday, 9 a.m.—A great doubt has been entertained how far Addington is likely to be able to retort on the wit which may be used against him. He certainly may expect that Canning, for instance, will take early opportunities of emptying his whole quiver upon him. His intimate friends say he is by no means deficient in wit, but the general impression is otherwise. The following trait, however, seems to corroborate the opinion of his friends. I heard it yesterday from the gentleman who was the subject of it. Praed has been the great promoter in the House of Commons of the Grand Junction Canal, and he is now the chairman of the committee of proprietors of that magnificent undertaking. Yesterday as I was taking Fred home from school through St. James's Park, he joined us and as I soon found that he was on his way to visit the work now carrying on at Paddington, I walked on with him, and received from the first hand an account of the extent and actual progress of the different branches of his favourite project. In the course of his explanations, he thought it right to acknowledge that his friends accuse him of never talking or thinking of anything else, and he then told me the anecdote in question, namely, that one day during some interesting debate in the House of Commons on public affairs, he happened to be sitting under the eye of the Speaker, looking thoughtfully and attending to the debate then carrying on, but Addington supposing him to be occupied only with his favourite object, beckoned him to him, and when he came to the Chair, whispered to him, "Praed, I am sure you have got water in your head."

Tyrwhitt is among the busiest of the out-laying politicians or runners of Carlton House. He generally makes half-yearly trips to the Continent, for the purpose of either borrowing money for the Prince, or obtaining delays of payments. His little chubby red smooth face and stumpy person add to the ridicule of his important manner and affected softness of voice and air. Poor Jack Verney (Lord Willoughby de Broke's eldest

son, who afterwards went mad and is now confined)¹ used to call him at Oxford, where they were contemporaries, "the Squab Cupid." Tyrwhitt, as the nephew and heir of the first scholar of his time in England,² perhaps in Europe, affects a classical taste and knowledge, but though he does not seem to me entirely deficient in that respect, he could gain no credit for learning either at Eton or Oxford. When at Eton, they say he got into great disgrace with his uncle by beginning a letter to him "Dear *Unkel*," and a mistake of his dame in the return she made one day of him among other boys who had stayed out of school for indisposition was caught at by his companions, and became proverbial among them. The return was "Master Tyrwhitt—A *Clod*."

One of the first instances of poor Verney's madness was his saying to Lord Wycombe³ in a quarrel they had, "You are a liar before God and man, like your father—and Harry Legge told me so." Wycombe complained of this to Legge who gave Verney a sound thrashing for it.

Lady Glenbervie and I walked yesterday to the Queen's House about 11. There seemed a great concourse of carriages, belonging to medical persons, and the bulletin was issued above half an hour later than usual. It was probably fully considered and is very favourable. The words "afford the fairest hopes of a speedy recovery," seem to indicate a prospect of giving effect to the new Government.

Farquhar, who sees the Prince of Wales continually, told me two or three days ago that the Prince has pressed him to see the King. He said he had hitherto declined, "If I do see him," said he to me, "I shall give it as my clear opinion that he ought to be allowed to recover very slowly." This smelt strong of Carlton House, and I advised him to be cautious.

¹ Born in 1762, succeeded as fifteenth Baron in 1816, and died unmarried in 1820.

² Thomas Tyrwhitt, at one time Clerk of the House of Commons, linguist and classical scholar. His edition of the *Canterbury Tales* was long the best, and his exposure of Chatterton's "Rowley" forgeries was the most authoritative.

³ Afterwards second Marquess of Lansdowne.

Yesterday Lord Malmesbury told me a person called on him the day before and said it is not true that the King is getting better; to which he replied immediately, "I can tell you where you come from." The gentleman said, "What do you mean?" Lord Malmesbury: "I mean you come from Carlton House." He blushed, Lord Malmesbury says, quite red, but, as he afterwards learned, went immediately to the House of Lords and propagated the same report.

March 9, Monday, 8 a.m.—Ryder's party yesterday was Lord and Lady Hardwicke, John and Mrs. Eliot, Ryder himself and Lady Susan, Sir William Scott, Arden, Master of the Rolls, Abbot and me. Ryder¹ is I think a man of parts, and has certainly a good deal of information, and he is or, to state the same thing in the least favourable terms, means to be a good sort of man. But his manner is not advantageous to him. His little circular pursed-in mouth, a sort of ruddiness and smoothness of face, and a weak short kind of articulation, make him appear both in private and in public what has been called *missey*, and there appears to be a certain quickness in his temper which, when he fails in venting it in a species of captious smartness or repartee, renders him what by another familiar expression is called miffy. He seems devoted to Pitt, and, besides that his sacrifice would have been twice as great as Canning's, perhaps he really pleased Pitt better by taking his request to his friends that they would all stay in, than Canning did by his sentimental or peevish resignation.

Our conversation when the ladies retired turned chiefly on Horne Tooke's case and the important question how far priests are capable of sitting in Parliament, and also on the other question occasioned by Lord Hawkesbury's appointment, namely, whether he, Dundas, or the Duke of Portland is, in

¹ Dudley Ryder, who succeeded his father as Lord Harrowby in 1803, and was created Earl of Harrowby in 1809. He was at this time Treasurer of the Navy. In 1804 he became Foreign Secretary and though he soon retired from that office, owing to the ill-health which always hampered him, he held several important appointments and was a prominent member of the Tory party until the death of Canning. His wife, Lady Susan, was a daughter of the Marquess of Stafford.

consequence of that appointment, a third Secretary of State within the meaning of Burke's Act.

Lady Glenbervie spent the evening last night at Lady Sheffield's with her, Mrs. Holroyd and the two Vernons (Lady Harcourt's sisters). The conversation it seems turned on the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. They are all persons of sense, and the three old maids very candid and even indulgent to others though of very strict conduct themselves. They admired the eloquence and genius of Rousseau, but agreed with all good judges, himself not excepted, in regard to its wicked tendency. One of them recollected a *bon mot* of Mrs. Davenport's on the subject which contains a great deal of just criticism. A lady, who had lent her the book, asked her, when she returned it, how she liked it, or what she thought of it. "I will tell you," said she; "it makes me ashamed of not being a wh-re."

5 p.m.—The bulletin to-day gives hopes of immediate recovery. Addington is also considerably better.¹ Is he to take or relinquish the government? I suppose no man ever found himself, or rather put himself, into a situation where it was so difficult to act. If he extricates himself with credit, he will deserve the fame of an able man. But he can hardly lose that of a rash one.

Lady Glenbervie and I went to see the Coopers this morning, who arrived last Saturday. Sir Grey² is as weak (in mind) as a child. He and she cry with gratitude, with sensibility, with patriotism, or for nothing, every minute. He said it was fortunate Pitt had determined to stay in. I asked, "Has he?" He said, "He never meant to go out." I said, "Was that conduct honest?" This showed him he had not got his Q [cue] for me, and he immediately disclaimed everything about politics. He told us Lord Townshend had called upon him yesterday, full-mouthed from Debrett's, where he professes to go, as well as to Wright's, to hear both sides. At Debrett's he had found

¹ He had had a feverish cold.

² Secretary of the Treasury under Rockingham, Chatham, Grafton and North, and a Lord of the Treasury during the North-Fox Coalition. He was never again in office, though he remained in Parliament until 1790. He died suddenly in July this year (1801).

George Rous, and a quiet sort of man having said he hoped still Divine Providence would take care of the government of this country, Rous started up foaming and said, "Sir, you blaspheme. Providence ! Can you believe that Divine Providence will ever do anything that can be of service to Pitt ? "

March 10, Tuesday, 9 a.m.—Addington was still confined to his bedchamber yesterday and we were told at the door that his physician forbid his seeing anybody. The King's immediate recovery seems, in the meantime, in a manner announced in yesterday's bulletin, and the report of Pitt's continuance in office is become so universal as to render it more probable that this discreditable measure is determined on. His plan no doubt is to gull the country gentlemen by whining declamations. Indeed, independent of his eloquence, which is so apt to fascinate us all, it is no great wonder that the country should seem to wish for his resumption of the government rather than that it should fall into the wicked hands of Fox and his adherents or under the unexperienced management of Addington. But it is a sad thing that there should be no other choice. I begin to [be] very much of Sir Francis Burdett's favourite opinion at present (as I am told by Lady Glenbervie) that there is nothing so pernicious to the commonweal in a free country as eloquence.

I begin to grow very much puzzled how to act if, as is probable, Pitt takes no notice, and Addington perhaps but little, of the engagement of the latter and the authority of the King conveyed by him. My ultimate determination of poverty with dignity rather than any retrograde step either in the importance or emolument of any proposed situation is fixed. But I must, if I can, endeavour to prevent any such dilemma. I saw enough of Addington in the Chair and especially in my late intercourse and observation of him to know that he is artful, supple and ready enough to slip out of anything not fully defined. But I think, as to him, his note is conclusive. Pitt, Dundas, and the Chancellor (if in the intrigue at present) and old Liverpool are *up to* anything—and I use that vulgar expression because I have heard some of them use it, and because it is the best suited to express of them what I really think. I remember when I went to announce

to Lord Loughborough that I had accepted the nomination to the Secretaryship of Ireland, I was stating to him the diffidence I had in myself, in expectation of some friendly encouragement and comfort from him, but all I got from him was, "If you feel yourself *not up to* the situation, don't take it." I closed the conversation, and troubled him no more in that strain.

Last night Lady Katherine and I went to a ball (for all the town) at Lady Carrington's, and afterwards to one of Lady Salisbury's assemblies. Lady Glenbervie's good nature had led her to wish to carry Maria with her to Lady Carrington's, but she was not invited, and I dissuaded her aunt from it. I am afraid of her getting the habits of dissipation and fineness, and as yet I perceive little of the former and none of the latter.

Lady Cooper said to me yesterday, "Well, how are you? God bless you. Give me a kiss and another and now let me give you joy—of *the Lord knows what*." I told her if she had thought for half an hour she could not have expressed herself more to the purpose.

9 *p.m.*—I called to-day at 12 at Mr. Addington's, Palace Yard. His servant said he was much better, had had a tolerable night, and was up but that he did not yet see anybody. I bid him say I had wished to see him. Before going there I had written my name (as I have done daily) at the Queen's House, and had seen to-day's bulletin, which has been progressively favourable for about a week. The *Times* to-day mention a report that Pitt is to remain with a strange motley Council of Regency, and that Addington is to be a peer. This has been either put in by some of those who wish for a Regency and are called the Prince's friends, or by Pitt's or Addington's friends, to sound the public. The report or idea of Addington's quitting the Chair and going to the House of Lords had been thrown out early in the winter, and I remember well that in my conversation with him, the first time I called on him on his coming to town, he talked in a way that persuaded me he had such a retreat near his heart.

I went to call on Mr. Williams, whom I found at home, then on Lord Guilford, whom I also found, and from thence came home, and was set down by Lady Glenbervie at 4 o'clock at

the House of Commons. Mr. Williams approves much of our having put his great-nephew to Westminster and is strenuous for his going into College. He himself was between nine and ten years at Westminster, having been sent there at nine, and continued till he was between eighteen and nineteen. He was elected off for Cambridge, but his father preferred Christ Church, Oxon, and sent him, without a studentship, to that college. He was under Freind¹ and some years contemporary but senior to Sir John Skynner.² He considers the education in the College at Westminster as perfection, not so much for the learning but in forming the character, in teaching to obey and then to command, to maintain subordination and authority, and to knead and mould the character and temper of boys so as to fit them for the business and duties of life. Of the four years, in the first, according to him, the boy is a sort of servant, in the second an upper servant, in the third free, in the fourth a master, and in the fourth they learn more, he says, than during the whole of the other three. It seems the initiation of a boy on his first going into college is the being tost in a blanket. This sounds like an old ceremony. Perhaps it is no longer in use, for I had never heard of it from any of my Westminster friends. The method according to Mr. Williams is for about twenty of the collegers to take the corners and edges of the blanket, and laying the little elect upon it, to throw him in the air five or six times repeating the following Latin line :

Ibis ab excusso, missus ad astra sago.

The old gentleman repeated this line with so much energy and pleasure that I am persuaded he was in his day a very active performer. He mentioned a whimsical advantage from having undergone the ceremony, that of learning to fall safely, of which he related the following instance. Dr. Blackburne, Archbishop of York, who had been a Westminster colleger, told Mr. Williams's father that by having learned to fall he had once

¹ Doctor Robert Freind, during whose headmastership (1711 to 1733) Westminster was brought to an unrivalled position among English schools.

² Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 1777 to 1786.

saved his life. It seems while he was Bishop of Exeter, in consequence of some popular tumult, he was besieged in the Episcopal Palace and in danger every moment of falling into the hands of an enraged mob. In this situation, recollecting the skill he had acquired at school, he threw open the sash, in a room high enough from the ground to render a leap from it quite desperate, and laying himself sideways on the edge, let himself drop in such a manner as not to suffer the smallest hurt of any kind.

Mr. Williams enumerated many gentlemen of rank or fortune who had been in college at Westminster. In that respect this foundation differs much from that at Eton. Both, by their constitution, are eleemosynary, but the first has by degrees become a fashionable seminary for persons who do not stand in need of any pecuniary assistance in their education. That of Eton is still only resorted to by boys of that description. Both have always been remarkable for producing good classical scholars. The present Lord Stafford, the three Lord Mansfields, etc., etc., were on the foundation at Westminster.

March 12, Thursday, 11.30 p.m.—It seems the night before last there was great irregularity and heat in the House on Lord Temple's motion about Horne Tooke, and Mitford's inexperience, or some warmth in his temper, are said to have contributed to the confusion. It is observed that he uses his eye and hat too little, and his tongue too much, and that from inattention or awkwardness he neglects or suffers others to neglect established forms.

I called on the Duchess of Gordon yesterday and mentioned to her the general applause her *bon mot* about Pope Joan¹ had met with. She said she said it to Pitt himself—or to Sir Walter Farquhar rather, in Pitt's presence. That by Joan she meant nothing but Jane, *i.e.* herself. I said she must give the world leave to suppose she meant as much wit as they thought she did. According to her, Lady Margaret Fordyce, who was also present, improved on her joke by adding to it that in her opinion the worst part of Pitt's game at Pope Joan was the *Stop*.

¹ See p. 182.

March 13, Friday, 9.30 p.m.—The Duchess of Gordon told me (on Thursday) that on Lord St. Vincent's coming into office she had written a note to him to mention a young cousin of hers in the Navy of the name of Maxwell, and that she had said in her note that as it would be too tedious for him to read a long detail of this young man's merits and sufferings she hoped he would be so good as to come to her in the evening, and that he would find there Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, etc., etc., etc., and that he had wrote in answer, "His compliments, and that a person who rose to business every morning at five would, she must conceive, be very ill qualified to make one at her Grace's evening parties." She says she means to renew the charge by substituting the names of Lansdowne, Wycombe, etc., for Pitt, Addington, etc.

As soon as it was decided that we were not to proceed to the Cape and my effects were ordered back, I felt the same pleasure in knowing myself in England and looking at the different familiar objects living and inanimate to which I had in a manner bid farewell, as if I had actually returned after a long absence. I felt "*le plaisir de marcher sur sa terre natale* (England was so then to me), *de retrouver les usages qu'on a toujours suivis, et d'entendre parler dans les rues sa langue maternelle*" (*Mères Rivaies*, Lre. Ire).

March 15, Sunday, 8 a.m.—The dinner at the Duchess of Portland's yesterday was very dull—the company mostly Irish commoners, many of whom I had either never seen or had forgot. The Chancellor (Lord Loughborough) dined there, and seemed more out of spirits than I ever remember to have seen him. He was silent even after dinner, *rêveur*, dry to all, but I thought particularly to myself, and, in that respect, very different from last Sunday se'nnight. What has happened, or is it merely the more certain approach of the loss of consequence and power?

I there [at Lord Mendip's] learned that the blanket ceremony has been discontinued in Westminster College for some years, an unlucky accident having happened to a boy of the name of Upton, whose skull was nearly fractured by falling against the corner of a bureau. On this matter being known, the Dean

and Chapter of Westminster interfered, and the custom was abolished. It seems there was always danger when a boy resisted, none if he was passive. From eight to twelve were the performers. The blanket was laid on the ground and the corners and edges held up loose, and the boy being placed in the bottom of the sort of bag so formed, those who held it by stretching it tight made him spring in the air. They repeated the line in this manner :

Ibis ab—excuss— \bar{O}

as the boy flew up ; then

Misus ad—astra sa—gō—

during his fall.

March 16, Monday, 6 p.m.—Yesterday I called on Adam.¹ He had heard from Dundas the purport of his conversation with the King in the audience he had on the Friday. According to him it was very cordial. However, he does not appear even to himself to have expressed any wish that he should not resign. He only said that a difference of opinion ought not to produce any want of regard, and that in all his connection with him (Dundas) he had found him always ready to speak his real opinion frankly and honestly. He then said he understood he intended to part with Wimbledon, but that must not be. Dundas said, “ I cannot sell it, for it is settled on Lady Jane, but I intend to part with it for my life.” The King also said that must not be. “ The rent can be no object, and you must remain near your friends here, and I understand it does not agree with your health to sleep much in town.”

Adam says (I believe from Dundas) that when Pitt had found that the Chancellor had written his paper on the Catholic Question he remonstrated with him and complained that his difference of opinion on such matters embarrassed his government. That upon this the Chancellor said, “ I shall release you from that difficulty by resigning.” This it is supposed was communicated to Addington and taken by him more *au pied de la lettre* than was intended. In short there seems to be ground to believe

¹ William Adam, Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales.

that the Chancellor and Dundas both, perceiving that Pitt and the other *leading* Ministers were desirous of getting rid of them, were not unwilling to concur in forcing them also out of office. This explains their visits and attentions to Adam, etc. The Chancellor's part was to work upon the King's mind against the Catholic Emancipation, while Dundas, by stating "that he could not continue Minister and concur in rejecting that measure without disgracing himself as a gentleman" [*sic*]. If he was right in that sentiment (which he was sure all the partisans of the question whether in Government or Opposition would applaud) it applied equally to Pitt, Lord Grenville and Windham.

I am sorry to feel myself obliged to suspect such eminent persons of so much art and disingenuity, but when I recollect the former political conduct of both, Wedderburn's¹ opinions when he went out with George Grenville, and when he supported Lord North, during the Coalition, and after 1792, and Dundas's for and against Parliamentary Reform, and the Slave Trade, and also their concurrence in the admission of the Irish Catholics to vote in 1793, I really cannot bring myself to ascribe their late conduct to mere sincerity of conviction and duty.

Adam says Lord Eldon told him that he was far from desirous of the Seals, but that he had not hesitated about taking because when he was made Chief Justice the King had said to him, "If ever I shall find it necessary for my service that you should hold the Great Seal, I hope I may consider you as willing to accept," to which he had assented. He told Adam that he liked business, but had made up his mind to the situation of Chief Justice and the sort of business belonging to it, that he was no statesman, and neither liked nor understood politics—and besides in the present state of things he must have the probability before his eyes of becoming very soon perhaps a man out of all business, in the unpleasant and invidious character of an idle pensioner.

March 17, Tuesday, 11 a.m.—Lady Glenbervie and I in walking round Berkeley Square (which we have done of late every morning) met Charles Yorke, who told me he had been

¹ *i.e.* Lord Loughborough.

at Addington's yesterday morning, and had seen there a note from the *King to Addington* mentioning that he had signed the warrant for Steele and me being Joint-Paymasters.

I incline to think the Duke of York has had a great share in the whole business. When I saw him in Flanders in 1793, he did not conceal his dislike of Dundas. When he became Commander-in-Chief Dundas courted him extensively, but having taken upon himself the character of War Minister, he could not at bottom have become on that account more agreeable to him. Their patronage I believe often interfered. In the affair of Lord Granville Leveson's corps, the Duke probably contributed to the King's refusal to confirm the appointment.

A story goes that the King in one of his rides one day meeting some soldiers in a uniform he had never seen, asked them to what regiment they belonged, that they said to Lord Granville Leveson's, and that the King was much surprised and offended at finding there was a corps formed and clothed of which till that moment he had never received the smallest information.

March 22, Sunday, 9 a.m.—On Friday Lord Auckland seems to have made a very angry and impudent speech, insinuating the incapacity of the new Ministers and imputing desertion to their predecessors, and his old friend Lord Carlisle plainly said there ought to have been an appointment of the Prince of Wales to be Regent, on the first attack of the King. It is perhaps the intention of some still to try to force a Regency. Alas! amidst these shameful contests for power, the real affairs of Government must be neglected, and at the most critical moment this country ever knew.

I feel little or no satisfaction in the progress (for I have not yet reached and never may, the completion) of my appointment, except from the sense of my prudence in preventing any pretence for revoking the engagement of Government. I think this Government cannot last, and if it does I am ill-qualified for the tumults which must, I think, agitate the House of Commons during the remainder of this session. Indeed I contemplate disorders and confusion of a more novel and dangerous nature as not beyond probability. I think I might be more usefully

employed in foreign negotiations than in the House of Commons, and perhaps than any of those who may be pitched on. But I perceive no marks of any intention to make any proposal of that sort to me.

Lady Katherine recollected last night a good thing of Lady Sheffield's which amused us very much. There is a Mr. Samuel Rose, a young barrister, who attends the Home Circuit, but with little or no business. He is a friend of Hayley the poet's, who lives in Sussex, and through him an acquaintance of Lord Sheffield's. Last summer he spent the Assize week for Sussex at Sheffield Place. Lady Sheffield said that visit was an effect which proceeded from no cause.

March 23, Monday, 8.30 a.m.—Lady Glenbervie and I dined yesterday at the Archbishop of Cashel's in Hereford Street. I sat next Lady Carnarvon who, as her custom is, asked a thousand questions on delicate subjects, whether from intentional and indiscreet, or merely idle, curiosity it is difficult to say. They chiefly regarded the state of the King's recovery, concerning which she seemed very sceptical, and I fear with reason, but I gave her no light on the subject. Indeed I know nothing.

March 25, Wednesday, 8.30 a.m.—Robert Arbuthnot has lived much abroad and has a personal knowledge of many marked persons on the Continent. He has at different times lived in the same society with Madame Genlis, and he told Lady Glenbervie yesterday that she is one of the most disagreeable women he ever met with. Her whole conversation is self-accusation of the conduct of others to her and panegyric on her own. Her daughter Mme. de Valence, who was one of the few handsome young women of fashion before the Revolution who had an unblemished reputation, is now he says quite abandoned, and that almost all the young women of rank who have remarried in Paris are understood to be kept by rich commissaries, bankers, etc.

There was a rumour of peace in the city yesterday, which raised the omnium to five per cent premium.

I heard yesterday a recapitulation of many of the circumstances

of the Princess Sophia's extraordinary illness last autumn at Weymouth, from the most authentic information. They are of too delicate a nature for me to choose to commit them (at least according to my present feeling) even to this safe repository.¹ But they are such as leave scarce a doubt in my mind.

March 26, Thursday, 10 a.m.—The rumours of the King's relapse are traced by many to Carlton House. Yesterday they were almost silent. Between 12 and 1 the King, Queen, and two of the Princesses went out in a coach and four attended with the usual guard of Light Horse. I saw them from the Mall, where I was walking with Mr. Barnes and Fred. They came from the Queen's House down St. James's Park to the Stable Yard, thence I understand they went along Pall Mall by Charing Cross, Whitehall, and Parliament Street over Westminster Bridge.

This was a sort of stage trick to exhibit his Majesty in a part of the town most frequented by persons of rank and official situations of Government. I did not see the King in the carriage, as he sat back on the side nearest me, but in the opposite corner (*i.e.* the left hand) on the backward part I saw the Queen, which proved to me that he was there, and the Duchess of Manchester told me in the evening that she had met the carriage and had particularly observed that the King looked pretty well but pale and thin.

There was a report yesterday of peace so strong in the city that omnium was down at 7 per cent, and a prevalent rumour all over London that a message was to be delivered in the House of Commons that a person had been sent to Paris to negotiate.

Yesterday Grey's motion on the state of the nation came on. I heard the greatest part of Dundas's answer to him, which was very able, and more close in argument as well as more correct in language and composition than I have ever known any former speech of his. He was however very lame on the subject of the resignations. He said what little he did say on that subject in my opinion under manifest embarrassment. The retreat of the late Ministers he said had been deemed a mysterious transaction.

¹ As he grew older, it will be found, Lord Glenbervie grew less discreet.

He affirmed it was the clearest transaction possible. They had found themselves without the means or power of carrying into effect a measure which they considered as of most essential importance to the happiness of both parts of the United Kingdom. They had therefore thought it their duty to request his Majesty to accept their resignations. Yet he declared his belief that the new choice was excellent, that he and his late colleagues would give them a steady and *faithful* support, as he believed they would conduct the Government *on the same principles* on which their predecessors had acted.

Lord Temple spoke after him, beginning by a declaration that he should vote for the motion, and expressing, as well as he could, contempt for the new Ministers whose administration he said was composed of shreds and patches.

Ellison (member for Lincoln) answered Lord Temple. He said bluntly he could trace no motive for his speech or vote in what he had said, but that he was not one of the shreds and patches.

It is said that Lord Buckingham has been planning an administration with Lord Moira and Carlton House.¹

After I came away Pitt I understand pronounced a most brilliant panegyric on the new administration in the aggregate, and individually on Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Eldon, after which he contrasted them in point of ability and character with individuals opposite to them, expressing plainly that (with the exception of Fox) none of them were to be put in competition with Lord Hawkesbury, etc. I had this account from Lord St. Helens in the later part of the evening, having met him at a party we had gone to at Lady Palmerston's.

Dundas, Pitt, Lord Castlereagh, and Canning sat together in the third row immediately behind the Treasury Bench.

I have not yet heard of my patent being sealed.

March 27, Friday, 10 a.m.—Ramus wrote me a note last night to say it would be sent to him to-day between 2 and 3.

¹ The Marquess of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland twenty years previously, was now out of active politics, but was the constant adviser of his brother Lord Grenville.

The drawing-room was extremely full. As I drove down St. James's Street at 2 I saw the Duke of Clarence walking up the street in a frock coat, with Colonel Dalrymple, and the courtiers male and female were abusing him at St. James's for having said he would not go to the Queen's drawing-room. *The Times* to-day state him to have been there, but I do not think he was. The Prince of Wales came late. The Princess was not there. The rest of the Princes, and the Duke of Gloucester,¹ Prince William² and Princess Sophia of Gloucester were. Mrs. Harcourt told Lady Glenbervie that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence have been tormenting and teasing the Queen and the Princesses about political arrangements. They two are supposed to have been the Queen's chief favourites.

March 29, Sunday, 9 a.m.—I saw my patent yesterday at the Pay Office. It bears date March 26. It was afterwards sent to the Exchequer. I also saw old Craufurd, who has made his cousin the Fish write to ask me for the deputyship. His letter is to my mind a masterpiece of quizzing as to the forwardness of the application on the part of his relation. Steele is to call on me to-day by my request that I may enquire into the nature of the office of Paymaster, its patronage, perquisites, etc. I believe I shall give the deputyship to John Lindsay.

I went yesterday evening to Lord Mendip's and found him in a very entertaining and instructive flow of conversation on classical subjects ancient and modern. He was on his sofa as usual with his four large wax candles on the Pembroke table close before him, and Barrow's book on the Cape lying open by him.³ Sir Charles Blagden⁴ was on a chair at the end of the sofa, and I sat down (after making my bow to Lady Mendip who was at cribbage with Lady Dorchester (Carleton), Lady Selsey and Mr. Williams) on the sofa on his left hand. His memory quite

¹ The King's brother.

² Who succeeded his father as second Duke of Gloucester in 1805.

³ John Barrow, afterwards Secretary to the Admiralty (for forty years) and a baronet, had gone to the Cape as Macartney's secretary. His book (one of many) was *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798*.

⁴ An army doctor and secretary to the Royal Society.

overflowed with passages from Homer, Plutarch, Aristophanes, Horace, Metastasio, etc., to illustrate a great deal of good observation on mankind in the different periods and states of society and on oratory and good writing.

The silent and respectful attention of Sir Charles to Lord Mendip's conversation agreeably surprised me. He once indeed, on perceiving that neither his lordship nor I were deep read in Aristophanes, did break out into a long justification of his beastly attacks on Socrates and his gross bawdy on the score of his general elegance and of the wit of those very passages, but Lord Mendip after a certain time adroitly shifted the subject upon him to Machiavel and the other modern Italian writers of comedy, and as it seemed to me threw him fairly out.

March 30, Monday, 6 p.m.—Mr. Routh of the War Office (the protégé of the unfortunate Comte and Vicomte de Serent) told me yesterday that he had seen a person just arrived from Paris. That the speculation there is that Buonaparte intends le Comte d'Angoulême should be his successor. He was but ten years when the Revolution began and has never since been in France to partake in the horrors or imbibe the prejudices of that extraordinary period. He is married to the only surviving child of Louis XVI and Antionette [*sic*] d'Autriche. His uncle, the present King, has no children, and is fond of study, which he used to pursue before the misfortunes of his family, without any prospect of the crown. Le Comte d'Artois would it is supposed readily acquiesce in the appointment of his son, and Buonaparte might retire either like a Sylla, a Monk or a Washington.

Mr. Routh says that though numberless Emigrants are allowed to return, and Buonaparte, but especially his wife, favour the old noblesse, yet he keeps them at bay in politics, balancing and playing them off against the Jacobins. He says the peasants are comfortable or rich ; bread, etc., cheap ; but that the tradesman, *bourgeois*, *negotiant*, and all the higher classes of industry except contractors, *commissaires* and *agiateurs*, are in great distress and impatient for peace.

The Emigrants who have been *rayés* generally ~~are~~ are able to

repurchase their estates for two years' purchase, the intermediate buyer (generally the *metayer* or *fermier*) having enjoyed the mesne profits and left the dwelling house, etc., unrepaired. The value is calculated on the old revenue, no improvements scarcely having been ventured on.

I have determined to appoint John Lindsay.

I met Pelham in the Park to-day. His appointment is still in suspense. It seems the Duke of Portland offered to go to Ireland. Addington said, "Your Grace's offer is very handsome, and I am sure you will derive great comfort and assistance from Mr. Abbot." The Duke said, "I am persuaded it may be so, and that he might be the man I would choose, but I do not know him." Afterwards Addington named Lord Hardwicke without further communication with the Duke, so Pelham understands it, but I think he must be wrong. If not, Addington's conduct has been very clumsy.

March 31, Tuesday, 8.30 a.m.—Farquhar repeated to me twice within these few days, "Very extraordinary things have passed and are passing, but in six weeks time that will happen which will astonish beyond the most extraordinary part of all that has yet taken place.

Query: What he meant? I do not like to pry or interrogate. Is it that there is a foundation for what is very generally whispered, viz. that the Prince of Wales is going to declare his marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert? Mrs. Vernon, who has good Court intelligence, told it as a report to Lady Glenbervie as they were driving to Blackheath yesterday to visit the Princess. To be sure, if wise men think it not only competent to the King and Parliament to admit Catholics to the great offices of state—to be Chancellors, Chief Justices, Lord High Treasurers, Admirals and Commanders-in-Chief—it will be difficult to show the logical consistency of retaining the law for preventing the intermarriage of the King or Prince with a Papist. But what will be proposed for the Princess and her child? Shall we have the old case renewed of Henry VIII, and the tables turned on the Protestants?

April 1, Wednesday, 8.30.—Yesterday I spent two hours at

the Pay Office with Steele. I conveyed to him clearly, though in as friendly and polite a manner as I could, that I meant to make myself master of the business, duties, state, and current transactions of the office, though under and through him as senior. I could see a reluctance on his part (not unnatural certainly), but the right is too plain. He hates Canning; has never been in his house, and tells me he has, contrary to the example of his predecessors, Lords Mulgrave, Grenville, and Dudley Ryder, put the public to great expense in unnecessary and fantastical alterations.

I find the town is full of abuse on Canning. His hot-bed promotions, his saucy manners, and his satirical songs and indiscreet epigrams and buffoonery have already indisposed almost all Pitt's friends. Not only Addington but Lord Hawkesbury, and I believe Dundas, Ryder, etc., had been the frequent subjects of his ridicule, and now his hasty resignation contrary to Pitt's express desire,¹ while Steele, Smyth and others complied with that desire, having provoked them to an extreme degree as carrying with it an affectation of attachment beyond theirs, his subsequent struggles to retract or explain away that resignation, and that *hard dying* (as Lady Glenbervie calls it) which he has shown, clinging to the place and its emoluments till the Great Seal at last forced him to quit his last hold—all this conduct has opened many mouths of friends and foes, which had been kept sealed by the knowledge of Pitt's favour or the dread of his own wit. He now may perhaps long repent, though he will probably never subdue the indiscretion of that prurient and boyish vanity which postpones every consideration of decorum, respect for yourself as well as others, and good nature, to the momentary fame and applause of a good thing or an attempt at one. He might now apply to himself Pope's distich on Lord Hervey :

For faith, Lord Fanny, you are in the wrong,
The world's good name is better than a song.

Steele also hates Canning as a newer favourite with Pitt and one who has been supposed to have superseded him.

¹ Canning, who had been Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had resigned office with the Prime Minister.

April 3 (Good Friday), 8.30 a.m.—I had an interesting though short conversation yesterday with Hiley Addington¹ at the Treasury, in which I explained to him what had passed between me and Steele, and my intention not to consider my office as a sinecure. I then paid a just tribute to his brother for having placed me on a higher level, and persevered against the efforts used to prevent me from getting possession. He told me he had always said he thought I would not consent to consider the Pay Office as a sinecure. I told him it would not be for the credit of Government nor for mine. That I could not consent to be a mere signer of papers as he knew Lords of the Treasury to be. That a joint officer was a different thing from a subordinate member of a Commission, and that I meant and expected to be kept *au courant* of the substantial and real business of the office, with the Treasury, the Exchequer and the War Office.

I had called on Charles Yorke² to make the same explanation but missed him.

I then told Hiley Addington that at his brother's leisure I wished to see him to submit some general ideas to him. He seemed to wish me to make him the channel, but withdrew that hint when I seemed to decline it, and is to desire his brother will give me an hour during the holidays.

Lady Glenbervie having gone with Lady Sheffield to dine and meet the Lindsays at their lodge, I carried Fred with me to Blackheath to enquire after the Princess. We were shown in to Miss Garth, who informed me that the Princess was confined, had two blisters, and was blooded that morning under the direction of Sir Francis Milman (the physician who attended the Princess Sophia last autumn at Weymouth). I then saw Lady Elgin, Miss Hayman and the Princess Charlotte, who is a fine child, but is grown somewhat less like her father and more like her aunts. She is I understand twelve,³ but acted the little

¹ The new Prime Minister's brother. He had been appointed Secretary to the Treasury.

² The new Secretary at War. In 1803 he was transferred to the Home Office.

³ This is obviously a slip. Princess Charlotte was only five at this date.

Queen with extraordinary dignity for such an infant, and so as to render Turner's account of the still more extraordinary and premature dignity and intelligence of the infant Laura not quite improbable. She and her governess went away, and the two ladies having asked me to stay to dinner, I accepted, and had a great deal of entertaining conversation with Miss Hayman and of civil attention from Miss Garth. Soon after dinner she was sent for to the Princess, and about an hour after that Miss Hayman was also called away, and then Fred and I set off for Bruton Street, where we found Lady Glenbervie returned, loaded with nosegays and flowers from our poor Pheasantry.

April 4, Saturday, 9 a.m.—It is said the King is very low, cries a great deal; that the Queen is sometimes two days without seeing him, but that Addington sees him every day.

There is it seems a vast accumulation of unsigned papers with him, particularly military commissions. Is he unwilling to sign them? Does the Duke of Portland, Addington, or the whole Cabinet keep them back?

April 5, Sunday, 8 a.m.—Yesterday I amused myself drawing portraits, under a feigned description, of the Princess of Wales, Mrs. Garth and Miss Hayman. I had told the two last that I would draw theirs and see if Lady Glenbervie would find them out, and she enclosed them and sent them by the penny post to Mrs. Garth. I tried to put each in good humour with herself, yet to draw as true pictures as the painter in Gay's Fables did when he had discovered the secret of pleasing everybody. I also wished to praise each in her own way, and so as not to make the other jealous. Their ways are very different and, like most friends who are so by situation, not choice, neither seems over fond of the other. Knowing that Miss Hayman is very fond of reading to the Princess what entertains or pleases herself, I thought it best also to sprinkle some words concerning her Royal Highness, who has been always so particularly kind to Lady Glenbervie and me.

I spent two hours at the Pay Office, Whitehall, yesterday, and mean to be some time there every morning. Mr. Craufurd tells me they have only, as holidays at that office, besides Sundays,

Good Friday, Whitsunday, Monday and Tuesday, and Christmas day and the two following days.

By appointment I went to Addington at half past nine, and was about two hours with him, when I opened myself freely to him on many points. He says he never will consent to the repeal of the Test Acts. I told him if Catholics, English or Irish, were admitted into Parliament or the great offices, it would be a revolution. I would not say if circumstances might not render such a revolution necessary or expedient. He said he had endeavoured to find what circumstances must justify it, but could not see any that could. We agreed that it was best to avoid declarations on that matter as far as could be done. He spoke decidedly against the sale of tithes and against parliamentary reform, and reminded me that our acquaintance began by discovering that our sentiments were the same on that subject.

I explained to him my long and continuing predilection for foreign politics, gave him a short account of what has passed with Lord Minto, Pitt, Dundas and Lord Grenville on that head, and particularly of my letter to Dundas, stating my general views, suggesting and almost claiming the Irish peerage, etc., etc. I then repeated to him that I continued to think myself best qualified to be of use in that walk, and expressing my readiness to engage, retaining my office here, in any temporary mission. He said he was obliged to me and would bear what I had said in mind. He is to apprise the heads of the War Department, the Commander-in-Chief's office, the Exchequer and Treasury and Steele that he intends that I shall be in all respects equally confidential with Steele in the functions of Paymaster.

We had some conversation on the duties of that office. I expressed my opinion of their importance, and he said he knew I would think so, that he did, and had been induced to name me because he believed I should make it a situation of important business, and *that he had told Pitt so*. He asked me if I had any particular feeling still about the Board of Control. I reminded him that I had refused the Presidentship.

He thinks I am uneasy at being out of Parliament, and says he cannot make a vacancy, but that I am to have the first. I spoke ambiguously as to my wishes on that score; indeed my thoughts are considerably divided.

8.30 *p.m.*—Fred has been at home since Thursday. He improves in looks, health and manliness, and is become a true schoolboy, but fully conscious that his knowledge is much beyond the *Upper Third* where he has been placed. He asked me the other day, "How can I ever get any glory at school, as I shall never be in a higher form than other boys of the same age?" I told him Dr. Vincent was the judge and had placed him there, but with my concurrence, and the opinion of the Archbishop of York, Mr. Barnes and all his friends. He grumbled and pouted and I desired to change the subject, which I could not prevail in till he had consoled himself by recollecting that he is the youngest or one of the youngest in his own form, and that there are in it boys of or near 15. I think the dear boy has "immortal longings in him." God direct his mind and education and his parents in conducting and regulating both!

April 7, Tuesday, 8.30 a.m.—Two charming boys—Westminster Collegians, sons of the Bishop of Carlisle—dined with us yesterday, and Fred went with them in the evening to a ball at Lord Vernon's, where many of the young flower of both sexes were the performers.

The two Miss Vernons and indeed their brother and Lord Vernon were very kind to our little dancer, who enjoyed himself very much. It was not possible to avoid reflecting on the progression of human life, the retreating state of the fathers and mothers and the advancing steps of the sons and daughters who constituted this well-selected company.

The lofty Lady Harcourt was at cards in the ante-room. Mrs. Keene's idea of her is excellent: she says she sits and walks as if she had her coronet on her head and were afraid of its falling off. Mr. Lord seems a good-natured twaddler, though he is a scholar and Maecenas. He is a sort of Polonius, of a dwarf size and full of little court-like tricks and jokes. Mrs.

Sneyd tells Lady Glenbervie the Princesses call him Little Diddledaddle.

Though such great courtiers now—*non olim sic erat*. At a particular time (when some favour had been refused) Lady Harcourt abused the Royal Family and everything belonging to them on all occasions, and even gave away the pictures of the King and Queen which had belonged to the late Lord Harcourt when Ambassador at Paris. After the reconciliation and when the Royal visit to Nuneham was settled, they made every effort it seems to have them back, but could not. How they coloured the want of them to their royal guests I have not heard, but probably the Royal Family knew all, for, notwithstanding the fair outside, I understand they cordially hate her Ladyship. The King particularly does, and with his intimates amuses himself extremely with the scandal about Lady Harcourt and her two bastard children by a Parson H., a handsome young clergyman who lived several years as chaplain in the house.

April 8, Tuesday, 9.30 a.m.—Lady Glenbervie and I went yesterday afternoon to Blackheath to enquire after the Princess. She is much better and Miss Garth showed us a note to herself from the Princess Elizabeth to enquire after the Princess, and in the PSS. mentioned that the King continues to mend fast. In the meantime the accumulation of unsigned instruments of every sort occasions much inconvenient speculation.

The two ladies at Blackheath seemed hardly to know how they ought to take my portraits of them.

Fred said yesterday to his mother, "Oh, Mamma, what would I give to be George Vernon!" "Why, Fred?" "He is much the best scholar in the school and a favourite with everybody."

I have thought if I have been able to act up to my intentions and principles and the word 'statesman' is not too lofty, that I am in some degree entitled to the following alteration of two lines of Pope.

Though placed, though pensioned, be one statesman's praise—
That if he rose, he rose by manly ways.

April 9, Wednesday, 9 p.m.—The King I am told rode three several horses in the manège at the Queen's House to-day, but I hear he talks a great deal, that this is thought to do him harm, but that when those about him decline conversing with him, he becomes low-spirited and cries. Pollock told Fawkener that there are about 800 papers in that office alone for him to sign, and he had heard that some enquiry will certainly be pressed if this goes on, as soon as the House reassembles. On the other hand —— had reported that there will certainly be a Council on Monday.

It seems Queen Anne twice in her reign had a facsimile of her name engraved on a sort of seal (under warrant for that purpose) which was used for the sign manual, and that something of that sort has been in contemplation now. Fawkener saw the warrants of Queen Anne in a book at the Duke of Portland's office.

Fawkener also told me to-day that he knows from Thurlow¹ that after the King recovered in '89 he mentioned to him that he felt the great inconvenience the country must have suffered during his illness, and that in case of the recurrence of a similar inability from the like or any other cause he wished some law or measure could be devised for a sort of dormant standing Regency, that he (Thurlow) had expressed his opinion in favour of such a measure, but that the plan had dropt because he and Mr. Pitt could not agree on the mode of carrying it into execution.

April 12, Sunday, 9 p.m.—I went on Friday from the Pay Office in Adam's hack chaise with him and little Frank Adam to dine and sleep all night at his lodge in Richmond Park. Next morning after breakfast I proceeded in my own carriage to Lady Charlotte Lindsay's lodge in Bushey Park, where I found the three sisters and John Lindsay, and after visiting the poor Pheasantry, and our guests the Weylands,² returned to

¹ Edward, first Lord Thurlow, Lord Chancellor, except for a brief interval, from 1778 to 1792.

² Perhaps John Weyland, a barrister and an authority on the Poor Laws, and his wife, who was daughter and heiress of Whitstead Keene of Richmond.

town with Lady Glenbervie in time to dress and dine at Lord Hawkesbury's. I have confined myself all day to-day in order to get rid of a number of letters and of a cold caught during my excursion.

I had a great deal of friendly discussion with Adam on political consistency, and the question whether Lord Guilford might not have put himself at the head of a party on his father's death, and how far it was consistent with his dignity and situation, or could have been imposed on him by any honourable engagement, to make himself the man of Charles Fox. We did not agree, but we kept our good humour. We had also much intimate conversation concerning various public men; particularly Dundas. He continues to pay great court to Adam. On Thursday he was asked to dine at Wimbledon, and met the Advocate, William Dundas, the Duke of Buccleuch and Ferguson of Raith, who, after dinner, asked the Duke of Buccleuch if he was come there to enter into an agreement to make a deacon or two drunk at Edinburgh in order to enable William Dundas to govern Scotland. Dundas had said that with the assistance of the Advocate he will be able to govern it. We shall see.

Adam told me the following conclusion of one of Dundas's speeches, "And now, Sir, having *opened up* this business, in an *overly* manner, I shall say no more but content myself with *bagleaving* to bring in a Bull."

At Lord Hawkesbury's there were, Lady Erne, Lady Hawkesbury and Miss Jenkinson, Lord St. Vincent, John Beresford, young Lord Waterford, Lord Cole, Lord Hervey, Lord Hawkesbury, myself, an ugly son of Lady Elizabeth Foster's, Theophilus Jones and his son, and Mr. Holford. Lord St. Vincent took an early opportunity of mentioning the notice taken of Jamie in the *Gazette* and spoke very advantageously of him indeed, observing particularly his having been in the battle of the Nile, and that of the 14th February.

I took occasion to say that if it had not been for his own modesty and diffidence Jamie would have been made First Lieutenant by Manby half a year ago. This trait was commended by all, but Lord St. Vincent added that he knew he was at that

time perfectly qualified to have acted as First Lieutenant. I have written to him to-day on behalf of Jamie. His Lordship during dinner expatiated on the talents, knowledge, genius and universal abilities of Lord Minto, all which he addressed particularly to me, knowing my intimacy with him.

April 13, Monday, 8 a.m.—Mrs. Wat. Sneyd (Louisa Bagot) called on Lady Glenbervie last night. Her husband is Lieutenant Colonel of the Staffordshire Militia, which the King has taken a liking to and detained for several years at Windsor, where she and her family lived for the most part. She is a very agreeable, clever and lively woman, the old and intimate friend of Lady Katherine, well-looking, and without any of the missy manner or the particularity of the present and late Lord Bagot, her brother and father. Her mother (still a handsome woman) is sister to the late Lord Bolingbroke of profligate, his brother John St. John of Boeotian, and the present General Henry St. John of stupid memory and repute.

Mrs. Sneyd is a great favourite at Court, and in the intimacy of the Princesses. She hears from the Princess Elizabeth that the Duke of Clarence and the Prince of Wales have behaved of late, and in consequence of the King's illness, in a most unwarrantable manner. Some time ago the Duke of Clarence, having met Lord Cholmondeley, accidentally said to him, "Well, we shall have it all our own way now. He is not only mad, but dying, and I know my brother intends to give you a White Stick." To this Lord Cholmondeley replied, "Sir, I confess to you that my earnest wish is that it may yet be very long before the Prince shall have such affairs to dispose of, but when he has I can assure your Highness that having known what it is to be a servant I am determined never to find myself in that situation again."

Lady Glenbervie's observation when she told me this was that it was a pity a nobleman capable of so manly and dignified a reply should ever have degraded himself, for the sake of bettering his fortunes, to the employment of a *dealer* at Pharaoh.¹

¹ George James, fourth Earl (and afterwards first Marquess) of Cholmondeley, described as "a man who has lost the sense of moral

April 14, Tuesday, 8 a.m.—The fleet has passed the Sound, and anchored before Copenhagen. Behold then the main division of the British Navy within the jaws of the Baltic, prepared to refute the arguments of Hubner and Schlegel, and to establish by the *lex fortiori* the right of searching neutrals and, if our new Cabinet should have adopted Sir William Scott's doctrine to its full extent, that of confiscating neutral vessels resisting search, even though under convoy with orders from their own government to do so, by force, if force should be offered, and though it should turn out that no enemy's goods were on board. Perhaps the glory of England is rekindled or her naval sovereignty annihilated before now.

The circumstance that I am out of Parliament at present affords me leisure or at least the opportunity of disposing of my time more to my own taste. I go more into society than I had done since the year 1796. I am enabled to do so also by living so much in town, for the attraction of the Pheasantry used to get the better of every inducement to employ any spare time otherwise than in that bewitching nest. The view I take of what is called the world, by women and idle men, is now different from what it was at former periods. I am too old for love making in seeming earnest, and therefore can do so in jest with less offence and more amusement. Besides there are topics belonging to that subject which from younger men are serious declarations to some and coarse and offensive freedom with others, which when pretensions are known to be over may be indulged in to the amusement of one's self at least, and often of females as innocent as those who affect to be more scrupulous and severe. Besides my accession of rank, political consequence, and I hope of general reputation, not ill-acquired, has given me, I sometimes think, a greater share of weight and attention, and the mere circumstance of not being in Parliament and therefore not in the mouths of those who occupy and heat themselves with parliamentary proceedings, gives me a freer opinion and cooler intercourse with persons of all parties.

rectitude," and as "a bye-word for insane vices," and also as "an agreeable and fascinating man," had kept a faro bank at Brooks's and also, it is said, in Paris.

We dined yesterday at Lord Bagot's, with him, his brother Charles, his sister Mrs. W. Sneyd and her husband, and the Duchess of Leeds. The dinner was made for Lady Glenbervie, and to meet her old friend the Duchess, who though made a Duchess by Lady Glenbervie cannot abstain from airs and talking Royalty and Dukes and Ambassadors with us. She introduced the names of Lord Whitworth and the Duchess of Dorset I believe from that sort of feeling by which we are often impelled as it were to speak of what is disagreeable to us. She insisted that the Princess of Orange has a great deal of comical humour, because we vulgars who were not admitted to her Highness's familiarity ventured to say we thought her stiff and haughty and that she was not half so entertaining as the Stadtholder, and she told us she detested Maraschino, because it was a rare sort of liqueur which the Duke had once received as a present from the Court of Vienna, and which tasted strongly of cinnamon and other nasty spices. I could not help saying drily, "Maraschino is far from very rare, and it has no taste of cinnamon." This was almost as brutal as Johnson, without his wit, and it is both ill-bred and ill-natured to get angry with the vanities and absurdities of our friends, for I believe, after all, the Duchess of Leeds to be a friendly good sort of person.

We went afterwards to Mrs. Mat. Montagu, where there was much music and a good deal of melancholy. The gentleman and lady of the house are not very merry, and the deep Court mourning sheds a gloomy horror over all companies.

We closed our evening in a little rout of vulgars, black-legs male and female, and ugly or unhealthy women, at Mrs. Concannen's. Lady Glenbervie had refused so many invitations that she went at last, last night, to save her *good name*. The only women that I saw fit for a decent woman to speak to were Lady Lavington, Lady Bellingham, and the widow of George Clive.

Yesterday I assisted at the first Board of Chelsea Hospital since my appointment. The examination of the applicants was sometimes affecting, and from the variety of cases, and figures and countenances, was to me very entertaining. The senior Paymaster (and I presume in his absence the junior) presides,

though the Governor and Lieutenant Governor (yesterday Sir William Fawcett and General William Dalrymple) attended. Steele has the business at his finger ends.

5.30 *p.m.*—I saw both Fawkenner and Sir Stephen Cotterell immediately after the Council. They both agreed that the King was quite calm and collected and, though pale and sallow, much better than at the last Council when Lord Hobart was sworn in. Sir Stephen Cotterell says he was then extremely hurried, but that he said nothing then that was either incoherent or not appropriate to the person. To-day he said to Lord Eldon, "You may tell her that if it had not been for her you might probably have been at this time a country curate." A love marriage (while at Oxford) without fortune first determined Lord Eldon to study the law.¹

Huskisson told me to-day that the King's present plan is not to give audiences to as many of the Ministers as please, after the levees, and seldom to see any of them but Addington, to do business with the others by letter, or through Addington. This is the notion of a Prime Minister as known formerly sometimes under the French Government. But I question if the other Ministers will submit to such an inferiority, and whether Addington is equal to so uncommon a situation. I doubt also, for various reasons, whether the public will approve of it.

April 15, Wednesday, 7.30 a.m.—There are, to my conception, constant daily and hourly proofs that Addington is or at least acts for the present as the mere nominee of Pitt. The day before yesterday Pitt was at dinner somewhere with the Duchess of Gordon (Dundas's I suppose) and others. Addington came himself in the evening and called Pitt out to tell him the Russian news which had then just arrived.

Yesterday (after it had been determined to hold the Council, which resolution had not been taken till half past 12 *p.m.* the night before) about half past 11 *a.m.* Huskisson and I met Addington in his coach in St. James's Street on his way (as I

¹ At the age of twenty-one, when he was thinking of taking orders, he had fallen in love and eloped with Elizabeth Surtees, the daughter of a Newcastle banker. The forgiving parents settled £3,000 on the couple, and John Scott decided to "eat his dinners."

conjectured) to Pitt's lodgings in Park Place, no doubt to concert the proceedings at the Council.

Lord Loughborough told Lord Bayning yesterday that the King was remarkably well at the Council and remarkably kind to him ; that his Majesty did not appear agitated on receiving the Seals from him, but that he himself was very much so. "*Credo equidem.*"

I called yesterday morning in St. James's Place and Hanover Square to rejoice Mr. Williams and Lord Mendip with the news from the North.¹ Lord Mendip, for once, was not sceptical. I found him already informed, and a believer, though I was the first who brought him the authentic account. He lamented that it had been necessary that the Chancellor should retire, said he believed it was not his choice, and that it was extraordinary, as he had not been one of those who had thwarted the King's opinions.

I agreed and mentioned, as a proof that he had not, his paper or minute which I said I had had an opportunity of reading. He had heard of it and regretted that Lord Loughborough had not shown it to him. This was a little trait among many I have at various times observed of his sensibility to any want of political confidence from his friends the Chancellor and Duke of Portland towards him.

I am to have an interview at last with Dundas. He has, through Huskisson, appointed to-day at 11 at Clarges Street. At half after 12 I am to be with Lord Hawkesbury by appointment, and at 2 a.m. to meet Steele at the Pay Office, a meeting I have desired with a view to some arrangement both as to the business and the patronage. To-day, therefore, it behoves me to employ all my prudence, all my temper, and all the knowledge I possess of the characters and views of those I have to deal with. They are all three men of whom on the whole I entertain a very favourable opinion, but they are all three politicians in the narrow and justly invidious sense of the word. Steele is the friend and ex-favourite of Pitt, Lord Hawkesbury good-natured, and of great simplicity of manner, but he is ambitious beyond

¹ The Battle of Copenhagen.

his years, having been pushed on by his father through his influence over the King, and the son's University connection with Pitt's favourites, particularly Canning, as well as by his own parliamentary talents, which in the present dearth or suppression of such as may exist in others who are in the interest of Government, are very distinguished.

As to Dundas, with much natural frankness which even yet often hurries him on to temerity and indiscretion, with a warm and liberal heart, but which has made him frequently the dupe of artful men and coquettish women, and now has placed him under the government (in a great measure) of divers Scotch and some few English subalterns, sycophants and relations of himself and his wife, he is, I believe, more artful and of late at least I fear has been as crooked in his conduct (though in an abler and less serpent-like manner) as Lord Auckland himself.

As my objects are to maintain the dignity of my own character, the integrity of my conduct, my just claims on Dundas's department of government, and to strive to forward my own honourable views of laudable ambition in my own way, I hope I shall acquit myself to my own satisfaction, and that of Lady Glenbervie, in whose bosom I have a second and surer conscience than my own, and at least not to the detriment of my affairs, and of the present and permanent interests of my family.

April 16, Thursday, 12.30 p.m.—The interview was such as I expected. He insisted that I was in the wrong in *going first* to Addington. I told him I *did not go*, in the sense he meant, to Addington, and then we went over the facts. He made no reply to my remarks on *his refusal to give me any advice or to see me*. In short he was quite unable to defend his conduct, but equally determined to persist in it, for, in the whole course of the conversation, he did not touch on the article of expenses or indemnification.

Dundas, whom I had not seen for some time, appeared thin and worn out. He affected an openness of countenance, but it was manifestly put on.

Robert Arbuthnot has just called here after having breakfasted with Dundas. He says he is quite up in consequence of the

victory in the battle. I take it for granted the old Ministry will claim the merit of it. Perhaps they are entitled to it, although there has been time for new orders and new modifications of the plan, since their successors came into office, and both are known to have taken place. At any rate, the public and their successors will be unwilling to let them reap the fame. The 12th of April, 1782, was a victory which indisputably belonged to Lord North's Administration, but neither he, nor even the admiral who gained it, got the benefit of it.

April 17, 10 a.m.—I remained at home till dinner yesterday, and was employed chiefly in writing to Fred North, by the Arbuthnots. All the family dined with us. The father is much altered, but retains his cheerfulness, and the mother and sister struck Lady Glenbervie as persons carrying the appearance of that worth and goodness which belongs to them. Their friend Mrs. Anne Keith also dined with us. Arbuthnot gave me a melancholy account of our old friend.¹ He had been in Edinburgh last autumn attended by a Mr. Glenie, the husband of a niece who is a professor at Aberdeen and with whom he lives. Beattie it seems spoke with great affection and sensibility of me, though like a man whose faculties are nearly gone. He asked him if he knew me, said I had uniformly been his friend, that I had never forgot him though many may have. He said, "Is he not somehow connected with Mercer?" Arbuthnot reminded him that Mercer had married my sister. He then said, "Oh! yes, so he did," and then he asked him if he ever saw or wrote to me, and if he should see me bid him observe whether I should mention him and speak kindly of him. To be sure to mind if I did, and to write him word. While he was saying this the tears were running down his cheeks. Yet Arbuthnot says, amidst all this failure of memory and debility of mind, he not only repeated some long unpublished poems of his own but also spoke of executing a project he had long ago formed of writing a book on the genius and writings of Addison.

We went in the evening first to a party at Miss Vernon's,

¹ James Beattie, author of *The Minstrel*, who was at this date 66. He died in 1803.

where we met Mrs. Davenport looking quite handsome, and amidst her whimses and humour always kind and friendly to Lady Glenbervie, and for her sake to me.

We then went to a great assembly, ball and supper at Mrs. Crewe's, where Lady Glenbervie left me and proceeded, and other young ladies under her protection, to Almack's.

April 21, Tuesday, 9 a.m.—On Saturday morning Adam showed me a very captious and harsh commentary by Coutts on my statement of my affairs. He was to see him again as yesterday.

I had also an interview with Lord Hobart on Saturday. He recommended that I should draw up a statement of my claim¹ and send it to him. That he must show it to Addington, who would probably refer it to Dundas. I have accordingly drawn up such a statement and, by the advice of Farquhar and Adam, sent it first to Dundas with a letter desiring to be informed if any material circumstance has been omitted.

Yesterday the six principal officers of the Pay Office dined with me. They are all well-behaved men.

April 22, 9 a.m.—We dined yesterday by invitation at the Princess's at Blackheath—the company, herself, Miss Garth, Lord and Lady Sheffield, Lady Glenbervie and I, and Mr. William Elliot. She has still some cough, and is thinner in the face. She told us of the King's visit last Saturday. He had rode along the Mall through Storey's Gate over Westminster Bridge, accompanied only by the Duke of Cumberland and two equerries, and arrived at Blackheath (as the Princess said) about 11. She had just breakfasted but was still in bed, and was very much surprised when they brought her word the King was at the door. At first she supposed he had only called to enquire how she did on his way to see the Princess Charlotte, but she was told he had alighted and immediately got up and came to him as fast as she could. It seems General Manners, one of the equerries who accompanied him, had proposed to ride or send on before, but the King prevented him and said he wished to surprise her. He told her he had long meant to tell her his entire approbation

¹ To salary as Governor of the Cape.

of her conduct and his affection for her; that from his reserve hitherto he was afraid she might have thought he was angry with her, which he assured her was not the case; that he had thought a great deal about her during his illness, and had resolved to make his first visit on his recovery to her in order that he could assure her she would in future find the greatest kindness from all his family, with the exception, he was sorry to say, of one. He then sent for the Duke of Cumberland, who had remained in an adjoining room, and on his joining them said, "He, I know well, will always consider and treat you as a sister, and I shall always regard you as a sixth daughter."

She said the King was very sedate in his manner and particularly never used the expression so habitual to him at other times of "What, what," at the end of every sentence.

The Princess afterwards learned that his Majesty had never mentioned his intention of making her a visit to the Queen or any of the family, or any other person whatever except Mr Addington, to whom he had communicated it two days before. That on his return home he immediately walked upstairs where he found the Queen, the Princesses, the Duke of Gloucester, and some other person, but whom I have forgot. That the King bid them guess where he had been. They said, "We know; you rode through the Park and over Westminster Bridge, so we suppose you have been to see the Princess Charlotte." He said, "I have been to see the Princess of Wales, and I was determined none of you should know of it till I had been there."

The Princess ascribed this marked kindness in part to the late conduct of her father,¹ who she says had been destined by the Court of Berlin to command the troops who were to take possession of Hanover but that he had not only refused, but had himself written a private letter to the King, containing some important communications concerning his German territories. She says till then her father had not written, or had any direct intercourse with him, for upwards of eighteen years.

We have seen, during the Princess's illness, several notes from

¹ The Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.

the Princess Elizabeth to Mrs. Garth, containing very kind and obliging expressions and enquiries on the part of the Queen.

The Princess has heard that the Queen is very far from well, that she is very nervous and thinks she is dying.

They all remove to Kew on Monday, the King on horseback attended by several of the Princes.

April 24, Friday, 10 a.m.—There have been several unpleasant reports for the last two or three days about the state of the King's mind. But most of them come from suspicious quarters.

The Princess of Orange (George II's daughter) was it seems a very handsome woman, and a favourite of her father. The Prince was ugly and deformed. They were married at St. James's, and when they were to go to bed, it seems it was an etiquette that the father-in-law should throw the Prince's shirt over him. George II, when about to perform this ceremony, was so much shocked at the unsightliness of the bridegroom, that instead of putting the shirt over his head he flung it at him, and this confounded the Prince so much that he exhibited for a considerable time the most awkward and laughable appearance in endeavouring to force his head and arms through to their proper places. Old Lord Guilford, who told this anecdote to Lady Glenbervie, was present.

April 27, Monday, 8.30 a.m.—Mr. Coutts has agreed, as appears by a letter of Adam's, to our spending £2500 a year.

My name appeared in the new Commission of the India Board in Saturday's *Gazette* and Dundas is left out.

I began to read the *Anthologia* or *Analecta* of Brunk, with the commentary of Jacobs, last Thursday regularly through and never read anything more stupid than most or more grossly filthy than many of them. I have at last this morning come to one (No. CIX) of Meleager on the death of his mistress which is very affecting and pretty. I am also going regularly through Quintilian, which I began on the 8th of January last, and the Pythian Odes of Pindar, the fourth of which, containing the story of Jason, though too long, has great beauties.

Robert Arbuthnot the father told us a story the other morning

which amused us very much. Somebody had lent the *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* to a man who was famous for speaking well of everybody, and when he returned the book asked him what he thought of Nero. He answered, "Why, I must own he was a wag."

April 28, Tuesday.—The reports of the King are still very uncomfortable. The Duke of Clarence it seems tells everybody he meets at Hampton, Kingston, etc., that he is stark mad, that he had very nearly killed a page the other day, that he attempted to ride away from his attendants, etc.

From the CIX Poem under the name of Meleager to the concluding one (CXXIX) there are a great many very pretty, and scarcely one that is not good.

I have not dined out, nor been at any party, since this day se'nnight.

The public in general begin to be dissatisfied with the armistice, and to despond on the subject of peace.

May 3, 8 a.m.—There dined at Legge's yesterday besides Lady Glenbervie, myself and Fred, Lord St. Helens, and a Mr. Salmond (a relation of Mrs. Legge's) who has been a great deal in the East Indies. He married a daughter or niece of Mr. David Scott, and is the person who wrote the letter to Colonel Mark Wood, containing the account of the capture of Seringapatam.¹

Lord St. Helens is to sail he thinks on Tuesday or Wednesday for Petersburg as Minister, in the *Latona* frigate of 38 guns (Capt. Suthron). He says when he was at Petersburg about ten years ago the late Emperor appeared to him a man of lively parts, quick repartee and humour, and that he had a particular grace and facility in saying obliging and appropriate things. He mentioned one instance of this which was much taken notice of when the Great Duke was in France. He was on a visit at the Prince of Condé's at Chantilly, and one of the Prince's children having fallen in trying to walk backwards, he ran and picked him up, and at the same time said to him, "*Mon enfant,*

¹ *A Review of the Origin, Progress and Result of the late decisive War in Mysore, in a Letter from an Officer in India, 1800.* The officer was James Salmond.

vous auriez dû vous rappeler que les enfans de Condé ne scavent pas reculer." Lord St. Helens says Paul was something like the new Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (Sir R. P. Arden) but better looking, and that his humour was something of the same sort with his.

May 4, Monday, 8 a.m.—We dined yesterday at Sir George Cornwall's.¹ The company, Sir George, Lady Cornwall, Miss Cornwall, Miss Fanny Cornwall, George, Tom Grenville, Dudley North, Ainslie, Hatsell, Lady Glenbervie, Maria Gordon and myself.

Hatsell² expressed great regret that it is not the practice with eminent persons of this country to minute down at the time, in diaries and journals, the remarkable occurrences whether of a public or private nature in which they either are concerned or of which they are informed. Such, he justly observed, are the best materials for history. Grenville said, as all private memoirs and journals must be intended for perusal only after the death of the writers and their contemporaries, it is difficult to know whether there are not many persons who in truth do keep such journals.

We had a good deal of conversation about Charles Fox's history. Dudley North says he understands a first volume is nearly finished, and that Hare and Fitzpatrick have read it; and say it is well executed. I said I was afraid it would be a party pamphlet like Swift's *Four Last Years*, and, in some degree, Burnet's *Own Times*.

May 10, Sunday, 8 a.m.—I dined at Lord Mendip's on Tuesday. The company, Lord and Lady Mendip, the Duke of Portland, Lord Townshend, the Archbishop of Cashel and Lady Somerton, Abbot, Langlois and myself. Lord Townshend was as usual, very strange, giving toasts, pressing Lord Mendip to do so or appoint him toast master, etc.³ Lord Mendip said,

¹ Sir George Amyand Cornwall, second baronet.

² Presumably John Hatsell, benchor of the Middle Temple and clerk to the House of Commons from 1768 to 1797.

³ George, first Marquess Townshend, who had been Viceroy of Ireland from 1767 to 1772, was now getting on for eighty. Many contradictory epithets were attached to him by his contemporaries, and Lecky sums

“My dear Lord Marquess, you know you are whatever you please in this house, but nothing can be more distant from my habits.” He went on however. “The best of Kings—Success to the Union—etc.”

In the evening that strange personage Mrs. Macartney came to play cards.

On Thursday I dined at Lady Margaret Fordyce’s. The company, Lady Margaret, Lady Charlotte and Mr. Lindsay, Lord Lindsay, and Sir Hugh Hamilton Dalrymple, Fullarton’s opponent in the great lawsuit now depending in the House of Lords. Lady Margaret is extremely out of spirits or temper, I know not which.

Yesterday Lord Hobart settled my claim on the Cape, viz. the salary of £10,000 from December 9, 1800, when the new Board of Treasury was gazetted, to March 26, the date of my patent as Paymaster. He said he and Addington had discussed the matter very fully and could find no other principle, and that, if public money were to be given without some clear principle, there would be no limits. He recalled a standing joke of Sir Hercules Langrishe’s,¹ who used to say, “I had rather give half a crown of my own and £20,000 of the public money than that such a thing should happen.”

Lord Bayning tells me Lord Moira objects to Lord Pelham’s² taking the title of Earl of Hastings, his mother being Baroness Hastings. Lord Pelham’s answer is, that is but a name; that she had an older title of Baroness of Hungerford; that he himself is Lord of the Manor of Hastings, etc. Pelham is about to marry Lady Mary Osborne, full sister of the present Duke of Leeds, twenty years younger than Pelham, but of an excellent character for sense and conduct. Her attention to her grand-

him up as “brave, honest, and frank; popular in his manners, witty, convivial, and with a great turn for caricature, but violent and capricious in his temper, and destitute of tact, dignity and decorum.”

¹ An Irish politician, created a baronet in 1777, who introduced a Catholic Relief Bill in 1792 and supported the Union.

² Whether influenced by Lord Moira’s arguments or not, Pelham, on receiving his earldom, took the title of Chichester. Moira himself subsequently became Marquess of Hastings.

mother Lady Holderness, with whom she has always lived, has been uniform and exemplary. She is very agreeable and has a good figure and countenance. Her own fortune is £20,000, but it is thought Lady Holderness will also leave her a great deal. Lord Moira is forming for the Prince, in case of a Regency, a new administration in which he himself is to be Secretary of State, the Duke of Norfolk First Lord of the Treasury, and Erskine Chancellor, and Fox (from the influence of Mrs. Fitzherbert) to be excluded.

May 17, Sunday.—I dined yesterday at Lord Arden's, where I met Pitt for the first time I have been in a room with him since the change of the Government. He was in good spirits, sanguine, as heretofore, about the state and events of the war, more earnest and acrimonious against Opposition than ever, and very open in his censure of the Prince of Wales's late conduct. About ten days ago the Prince was to have dined at young Dent's [?], but he sent a written excuse, in the hand of MacMahon,¹ who referred in the note to Lord Moira to explain the reason why he did not come, and Lord Moira, in the Prince's name, said H.R.H. thought it would be unfit and indecent in him to dine out in the present *melancholy state of his father's health*. There was a large company, and this was a public advertisement that the King was still very ill or had relapsed, at a time when the contrary was believed, and indeed known. Lord Sidney, who dined yesterday at Lord Arden's, was one of the company and said that the Prince had a large company at Carlton House that very day, and there was on Dent's chimney piece an invitation to dine there the day following. The Prince had sent similar excuses about the same time to Thellusson and others.

At Lord Arden's we had also Lord Hawkesbury, Wallace, Sir William Scott, Mr. Playford, Thomas Sutton and Ferguson. Lord Sidney put Pitt in mind that some years ago at a great supper at the Duchess of Gordon's the present Lord Pomfret bawled out to him from the farther end of a long table requesting that as he who was so good a speaker must be a good singer he

¹ Colonel John MacMahon, his private secretary.

would favour the company with a song. Mr. Pitt recollected the circumstance perfectly.

June 28, Sunday, 7 a.m., Pay Office.—We came here to sleep for the first time yesterday se'nnight, viz. Saturday, June 20. Mr. Canning and his family had not left the house till the Saturday before, viz. June 13.

Mr. Williams (who dined with us yesterday) says he was with Lord North when he first came to see this house on his appointment to be Joint Paymaster; that the man who showed it to them when they came to one of the rooms above stairs said, "Two remarkable things have happened in this room. The great Mr. Winnington¹ died in it, and the great Mr. Pitt consummated his marriage in it." Mr. Williams confirmed what Lady Katherine often recollects, that her father frequently would look towards this house from the windows in Downing Street and declare that he had never been happy since he removed from the one to the other.

June 29, Monday, 7 a.m.—Some weeks ago, the first time the King and Royal Family made an excursion to Frogmore since his illness, Mrs. Sneyd, who has always been a favourite of his, happened to have gone there from London that morning. The King having heard this sent for her, and after some time, the Queen and Princesses having retired, the King took her by the hand and said, "I think I have not seen you before since a day or two before I was taken ill. I have been a very unhappy man for the last four months. However it is all over now."

About ten days ago he made a second visit to the Princess of Wales in order to take leave of her before going to Weymouth. He brought Prince Adolphus² and the Duke of Kent with him. Lady Sheffield was there, and the King made many inquiries after Lord Guilford and the rest of the family, and said, "I love you all. I had a great kindness for your grandfather and great affection for your father. You are a good race."

Mr. Williams says he knows from authority that the King offered Greenwich Park to the Princess and that she has refused

¹ Thomas Winnington, Paymaster General, died in 1746, when in possession of that office.

² His youngest surviving son, not yet created Duke of Cambridge.

it. This surprises me, as I know those about her (as Miss Garth for instance) complain that such a house and park should remain unoccupied while she lives in a cottage on the Park wall. But there are those who think she acted prudently, as Greenwich is settled on the Queen, and it might be supposed that the grant to the Princess was the effect of temporary weakness, and that it would excite the Queen's jealousy. Besides the Princess can live more to herself and with less restraint where she is.

I grow anxious about the state of Robinson's health. Lord Macartney told me he would be my witness that Dundas said I was certainly to have that place independent of any other situation I might hold, and probably in reversion to my son. The utmost scope of my ambition now is to remain where I am, to obtain, with my present situation, that place, which will substitute from two to three thousand pounds a year for £465, to have it continued to Frederic, to accumulate the £20,000 for him, and if he shall obtain the reversion of the place, to get myself made an English Baron by the title of Lord Douglas of Glenbervie, and an Irish [earl] by that of Earl of Forfar. Shall I be able to accomplish all, or any of those points? I should add the assurance of the Pheasantry for the lives of myself, Lady Glenbervie and Frederic, which Pitt actually gave direction for, and which Long put a stop to on the ground of the late act regulating grants of Crown lands, an objection which, if he had not been indisposed, might have easily been obviated.

July 3, Friday, 8 a.m.—On Tuesday morning I called on Mr. Dundas in Clarges Street to remind him of Fred North's wish for the red ribbon, and his promise to mention his opinion that he ought to have it, to Addington. Since that promise three have been given away, to General Trigge, General Huchison, and Admiral Duckworth.

There was great cordiality in Dundas's manner. I asked him the particulars of the King's drinking his health in one of the late visits to him and Lady Jane at Wimbledon, which has been much talked of by his friends, and has been mentioned in the newspapers. He told me that while he was standing by the King's chair and helping him to his tea, Prince Adolphus said,

"Sir, as it is a very hot day, and you have been riding, would not a glass of Mr. Dundas's excellent Madeira be a better thing than so much tea?" To which the King answered, "You know I do not like wine so well as some of my family, but I will drink a glass of Madeira before I leave this house." About a quarter of an hour afterwards he said, "Now give me my glass of Madeira," and on taking the glass, "I desire to drink to the health, the happiness and the prosperity of the inhabitants of this house, and of everybody connected with them, and particularly of the man who proposed and carried into execution the expedition to Egypt, *for in my opinion when a person has been perfectly in the wrong, the most just and honourable thing for him to do is to acknowledge it publicly.*"

Dundas then told me that the King had been extremely averse to that expedition, and that when he gave his consent to it, he did so in a letter in October last in which he wrote that "he gave a very reluctant consent to a measure which he thought would prove another St. Domingo business, that if means were not taken to supply the troops as completely as the army in America had been by Lord North's Treasury, he should consider them as devoted to famine and destruction, and that, such being the case, he was not surprised that Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham had (as it seems they had) protested against the plan."

Dundas told the King that his Majesty's gracious expressions had relieved his mind from a weight which had oppressed it for the last six or eight months beyond anything he had ever experienced. This it seems was the first time the King had ever mentioned the Egyptian expedition to him since he received the letter just mentioned. He says the King had been particularly kind and confidential with him in his late visits, more so than he had ever been while he was Minister. He desired he would inform Robert (Dundas's son) of what he had said concerning Egypt.

When Dundas told old Sir William Pulteney of the King's [words] he says the old man's eyes filled with tears and he said, "These words are so honourable to the King that they must

not be lost; you must have them written down by some of your family that they may make part of the history of the reign." Dundas naturally feels great pride in them and took pains to tell me that they were said in the presence of the Queen, the Princesses, Prince Adolphus, Lady Jane, and various other persons.

The Council having been suffered to pass last week without the King having signed a commission to prorogue it, it was necessary that a Council should be held at Cuffnells¹ on Wednesday for that purpose, and Addington having sent Lord Hobart to desire that I would make one to go there I went with Mr. Corry, and we together with the Duke of Portland (who is still Secretary of State), the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Harrington, and Mr. Charles Greville constituted the Council. The Chancellor had charged me with a letter to the King and also with a commission for passing bills, and had requested that I would deliver the letter into the King's hands and also see him sign his name at the top of each of the skins of the commission, as without this the commission would be invalid.

The Duke of Portland having informed the King that I had a letter to deliver to him, I was called in and had an audience before the Council in which the King inquired particularly after Lady Glenbervie and mentioned that he had seen Lady Sheffield at Blackheath. I took this occasion to tell him how happy her account of what his Majesty had been pleased to say had made all the family. He immediately answered, "I said nothing but the truth. I have a great affection for the memory of Lord North. He in one instance acted wrong in my opinion (meaning I suppose the Coalition), but he was a worthy, able man, and there is nobody without some speck. He knew and loved the Constitution, not as those do who professing to love it wish under the pretext of reform to alter and overturn it." In the course of the conversation he was pleased to say he approved of the preference I had given to my present situation, that besides other circumstances, though he wished and hoped we should ultimately keep the Cape, yet that must remain in a degree

¹ The seat of George Rose, Secretary to the Treasury, near Lyndhurst in Hampshire.

uncertain till the Peace, and that this uncertainty must have been a circumstance of weight with me. He told me that my predecessor, as he called Sir George Yonge, had received his recall in a better temper than he had expected, and had said in his despatch that he hoped so old a servant of the Crown would not be suffered to starve. He then repeated what he had before said to me of him, and what he had said to Dundas on his recall and my appointment, and added that he never was a man of business, that his circumstances were desperate, and that he understood that in his former office of Secretary at War he put everything up to sale, but that means must be found to prevent him from starving.

He then talked of the beauty and expense of Rose's place; that only a Secretary of the Treasury could make such places; that he had desired Rose to carry a message from him to Sir Henry Mildmay to borrow his house,¹ but that Rose had said he should be much mortified, if having himself a house much more conveniently situated his Majesty should not honour him by using it. He then expressed a strong sense of Rose's abilities, and observed that though Long had more the manners of the world and was a very honourable man, he did not believe [him] to be so much a man of business.

The place of the date of the commissions had been left blank. Rose asked me if I thought it should be filled up with Cuffnells and I said I thought it should. He said the King thought so. However, after the conversation the Duke of Portland had with his Majesty before the Council, Sir Stephen Cotterell had orders to fill it up with *Lyndhurst*, the King having a house there, and Sir Stephen Cotterell told me the Chancellor had been of that opinion. Sir Stephen told me the King had complained to him that he was unnecessarily interrupted by this Council, that the commissions might have been ready before, for that they *knew* two months ago that he would not prorogue in person, that for three weeks they had been urging him not to do it, and after he had agreed to follow that advice they had changed their mind and had pressed him to it, but that he had told them he could

¹ Dogmersfield Park, Winchfield, Hants.

not, that he was persuaded that in going to the House there would be a great concourse of people, that he should be received with a great deal of acclamation, that this would bring tears into his eyes and totally overcome him, that he was determined to attend to his health during the summer, and hoped to be able to open the Parliament as usual next winter.

I had not seen him since the day I kissed hands before his illness. I found him very much altered indeed, and instead of that fullness and roundness of limbs and countenance, an emaciated face and person with his clothes hanging upon him. But his complexion is clear, and those about him say he has got flesh and strength much beyond what he had a month ago.

He expressed some dissatisfaction to Sir Stephen Cotterell that out of about 150 Parliamentary Commissioners there had been so much difficulty in finding a sufficient number to go to Cuffnells.

July 11, Saturday, 6.30 a.m.—I was elected on Monday last for Plympton, without being under the necessity of going there.

July 16, Thursday, 10.30 a.m.—Adam told me the history he had heard of the King's giving the Stone House in Richmond Park to Addington. It seems when Sir Charles Stuart died a few months ago, the King said to Addington that it would be convenient that he should have some place in the country within a convenient distance and proposed giving him Sir Charles Stuart's lodge, but that Addington observed that it would be an unpleasant thing to him to be the means of removing Lady Stuart from a house she had so long occupied, and to which she was much attached. That the King was struck with this and immediately sent to Lady Stuart to inform her that he confirmed her in the possession of her lodge. He soon after gave the Stone Lodge to Addington. That lodge Lord Burlington had built for George II, having desired leave to build it as a specimen of good architecture. Sir Robert Walpole had the adjoining lodge, now occupied by Colonel Greville and Lady Mansfield,¹ and it is said that being unwilling to have a royal

¹ Louisa, Countess of Mansfield, widow of the second Earl, had married the Hon. Robert Fulke Greville, son of the first Earl of Warwick.

dwelling so very near his own, he had prevented the completion of Lord Burlington's plan. It was never a dwelling house except for a short time that the Princess Amelia (the King's aunt) lived there. His Majesty is said to have refused it to several of his sons. There are to be sixty acres annexed to it.

On Monday last Colonel, Mrs., Miss, and Mr. Charles St. Paul dined with us. I had not seen Mrs. St. Paul since 1786, when they retired to the north. Langlois also dined with us, and he, St. Paul and I talked over the society and leading people of Vienna of between thirty and forty years ago. I left that place in the spring of 1769, and Langlois I believe returned from the Embassy with Lord Stormont in 1772. St. Paul had left Vienna a year or two before I arrived there, which was in spring 1768.

Yesterday there dined here Mr. Williams, Sir George Baker and Dr. Vincent, besides our own family, including Barnes.

When Dr. Vincent arrived Williams said to him, "Dr. Vincent, I believe that I left Westminster School before you were born." "Sir," said the doctor, "that is highly probable. I was born in 1739." "And I," said Williams, "left Westminster in 1737." Dr. Vincent is a man of very respectable character and esteemed, as his works indeed prove him to be, a very learned man. But Lady Glenbervie and I on comparing notes, after our company left us, agreed that he has too much of a dictatorial manner, a good deal of the school master and not a little of the dignitary of the Church. There is a certain Dean-like behaviour which many Deans have and which does not leave them when they become Bishops.

Williams told us the following anecdote of Lord North. Early in his administration George Grenville on the Opposition Bench was then speaking against the state of the public finances, and Lord North had fallen asleep, but towards what Robinson or Sir G—— A—— supposed the end of the speech, they awakened him just as Grenville was saying, "I shall draw the attention of the House to the revenues and expenditure of the country in 1689." Upon which Lord North said to the

person who had jogged him, "Zounds, you have wakened me near one hundred years too soon."

I have attended either Prize or Plantation appeals, the India Board or the Board of Trade almost every day since I have been in this house. I now act as Vice-President of the latter, and if poor Ryder does not recover shall no doubt be appointed to that situation, which is certainly respectable, as at the very threshold of the Cabinet, but without emolument or patronage.

July 23, Thursday, 6 a.m.—We dined on Tuesday at Blackheath. The company were the younger Count Bernstorff, who arrived here about two months ago as Minister Extraordinary from Copenhagen. His elder brother is also here, but this is the man of business. They are Germans of Holstein. I think he told the Princess his brother had never been at Copenhagen, and could not speak Danish. They are sons of the late Count Bernstorff, principal Minister of Denmark, who was esteemed a man of great abilities. This gentleman seemed a quiet, steady man, and appears to be under forty. He speaks French fluently but with the German accent, and a little English. Mr. Drummond,¹ the translator of Persius, who went to Copenhagen last autumn with Lord Whitworth, and remained there after his return and the signing that unlucky convention which ended in the Treaty of Armed Neutrality, lately so fortunately done away by the happy coincidence of the Battle of Copenhagen and the revolution in Russia. Drummond has been nominated to Naples, whither he tells me he is to proceed immediately, though I scarcely think that likely. Arthur Paget, who had succeeded Sir William Hamilton, is named to Vienna. Drummond married the daughter of Mr. Charles Boone, one of the chairmen of the Board of Customs, by his [? second] wife, one of the daughters of the late Mr. Andrew Thompson, long an eminent Russia merchant in the city. Mr. Angerstein the elder, a natural son of the same Mr. Thompson;² his son, and

¹ Afterwards Sir William Drummond, diplomatist and scholar, about whom and his heretical opinions more will be found later. His translation of the Satires of Persius was published in 1798.

² According to the *D.N.B.* John Julius Angerstein was "of Russian extraction."

his wife (a daughter of Mr. Locke's); Miss Angerstein, his daughter; Mr. and Mrs. Boucharet, the former a daughter or niece of Mr. Angerstein's first wife, and Miss Cholmondeley, a singular character, whom I first knew at Paris in 1770, with her mother. Mr. Angerstein has made a very large fortune in this war and the former as an insurance broker and underwriter, and as a contractor I believe with Government. He is a man of excellent character and pleasing manners, and has formed a valuable collection of pictures.¹ He has a very handsome villa between Blackheath and Woolwich, where most of the party are resident at present. Sir William Scott, who was presented in an emphatical manner to Count Bernstorff. His name must be pretty well known at the Courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm.

Miss Garth and Miss Hayman were in attendance. The Princess always places the two gentlemen first in rank on her right and left hand at dinner, so that Count Bernstorff sat on her right and I on her left. She leaves the rest of the company to take their places as chance directs. During dinner she showed great civility and attention to Count Bernstorff, though the gravity of the scene was much interrupted and chequered by the frequent sallies and eccentricities of Miss Cholmondeley, who sat on my left hand. I had almost omitted Mr. Thomas Hope, junr.,² said to be the richest, but undoubtedly far from the most agreeable man in Europe. He is a great traveller and collector at any expense of *vertu* of all sorts, picture, marbles, Hetruscan [*sic*] vases, fossils, etc., etc., etc., and he has furnished his magnificent house (late General Clarke's and Lady Warwick's) in Mansfield Street with a profusion of those things as well as the most costly furniture. He is a little, ill-looking man about thirty, with a sort of effeminate face and manner, and speaking a kind of language which you are in doubt whether to think merely affected or what is called broken English. He

¹ Which formed the nucleus of the National Gallery.

² A well-known collector and author, amongst many other works, of a romance called *Anastasius*, which on its publication was attributed to Byron.

had lately given the Princess a breakfast, and has given great fêtes this and the last year to all the society of London. We do not know him and have been at none of them.

When we went to coffee the Princess addicted herself almost entirely to Drummond, who it seems is the particular friend of Frere. She had never seen Drummond before.

A report has been lately received of an approaching reconciliation between the Prince and Princess and through the intervention of Mrs. Fitzherbert. I think there is little probability in it.

I am going this morning with Sir Stephen Cotterell to Addiscombe by appointment from Lord Liverpool, and return in order to go to dinner with Addington at Wimbledon.

The election at Plymouth [*sic*. Plympton], instead of about £30 which I expected, has cost £400. But Addington, who is as much surprised at this as I am, has said to me it shall not cost me more, at any event, than £100.

July 27, Monday, 7.15 a.m.—On Thursday morning last Sir Stephen Cotterell and I went to Addiscombe Place. We found Lord Liverpool in tolerable spirits, but so weak in his limbs as to be unable to rise from his sofa without help. When got up, he walked about a good deal, but after two hours conversation partly on business, partly in gossip with me in a separate room, he appeared so much exhausted that Lady Liverpool, who had joined us, seemed uneasy about him, and we retired. He authorised me to tell Addington that he wishes me very much for Vice-President of the Board of Trade, in case of poor Ryder's inability.

Among other political anecdotes, with which he overflows, he assured me that Pitt was at one time desirous of being Secretary for the Home Department, and added that he thought it extremely likely that he will still end by taking that situation. I asked him if he thought he would in that case be chief Minister. That he said would be according to circumstances.

Next Thursday is now fixed for a Council at Weymouth at which the Duke is to be declared President, and Pelham to have his seat. Lord Liverpool said the Duke had made various

attempts to persuade Pelham to accept some other situation and had declared a decided wish to continue Secretary¹ himself. He did not add that, among other offices, his own place of Chancellor of the Duchy had been proposed to him. He says the Duke of Portland's distressed circumstances is the chief motive of his tenacity. That he wonders at that distress, his only great expense being his table; for that in servants, equipages, etc., his own establishment is considerably greater. He himself, however, keeps a very handsome table, and since the French Revolution has been fond of entertaining the most distinguished of the French Emigrants, though he speaks wretched French. A few days before he had given a dinner to the Prince of Condé (lately arrived in this country), *Monsieur*, the Duke of Bourbon, Calonne, etc.

I dined the same day at Wimbledon and informed Addington of the wish of Lord Liverpool. He said he would write to him next day on the subject, which he had not done, however, the next day at 3 o'clock. I sat between the Chancellor and his brother. He told me he had seen, when Attorney General, an opinion of Lord Rosslyn and Wallace as Attorney and Solicitor on which Lord Thurlow had endorsed, "This opinion has been given by Wedderburn as a lawyer and Wallace as a politician." A severe and illiberal epigram to leave in a public office.

Yesterday Barnes, Fred and I went to the Pheasantry after church to dine with the Weylands. It is in great beauty, the verdure of trees and grass very rich.

To-day Edwards the bookseller dines with us. He has bought my house in Bruton Street for a friend of his at £3342. It cost me £3,500 in the beginning of 1795, and as the term has diminished from 39 to 33 years and the 3 per cents are now at 60, it is not a bad bargain.

I understand Lord Cornwallis has accepted the command of the army for the defence of the kingdom against invasion, under the Duke of York, and Lord Nelson a similar command for the maritime defence of the coasts.

¹ *i.e.* Home Secretary. Thomas, Lord Pelham (afterwards second Earl of Chichester) was appointed to that office, and Portland became Lord President of Council.

August 10, 8 a.m.—Thursday se'nnight (30th ult.) the Duke of Portland (at last) resigned the seals for the Home Department into the King's hands at Weymouth, when they were delivered to Lord Pelham, and the same day, at a Council held there, his Grace was declared Lord President. It is now universally known, and admitted by his friends, that he had changed his situation with the greatest reluctance, a place of great patronage for one of none, £6000 a year full and well paid for less than one half very ill paid. He and they are now I believe satisfied that Jupiter had taken his wits from him at the moment when he made that general compliment about accommodating himself to any arrangement, which has been construed a little more efficiently than he meant or foresaw.

I have just finished Bolingbroke's letters this morning. I think I have mentioned at the time what Pitt said to me of them soon after they came out: that he had read them with great eagerness as being very interesting and that they had convinced him of two things, that St. John was both an abler man and a greater knave than he had before supposed. I cannot say that for an English politician and in such times I have discovered any extraordinary marks of knavery; at least if we were to see as much of the public and private correspondence of some of our contemporary statesmen, I am apt to think we should find with at least equal abilities not much more honesty. Bolingbroke is infinitely a better writer both of political and familiar letters than Prior. The little one sees of Harley in this correspondence confirms the idea of his being a narrow-minded, jealous and wavering character. They seem to have neglected poor Prior's solicitations for something certain as a retreat with a most provoking indifference. Walpole's name does not occur once in those letters. Torcy appears by his part of them to have been a man of abilities and Shrewsbury a person of sense, temper and dignity. I am inclined to prosecute this period of history by reading Swift, Burnet, M^cPherson, Tindal's *Rapin*,¹ Torcy's *Memoirs*, Somerville, Coxe, etc.

¹ The translation and continuation of Rapin's *History of England* by Nicholas Tindal.

I dined last Thursday at Addiscombe; Lord Liverpool rather better. Ryder, as I learned on Friday by a note from Addington, gives hopes of recovery, which has made him postpone writing to Lord Liverpool on the subject of my succession to the Vice-President of the Board of Trade.

Fred is come for the holidays, *facile princeps* of the Lower School. He and his mother go to-day to Sheffield Place, and I and Barnes follow in the end of the week.

Poor Lord Guilford seems by Farquhar's letters to be very very ill.

I insert anecdotes wherever it occurs to me. Lady Melbourne was with a large party at Eton to hear the speeches, her son being one of the speakers. Dr. Davies, then Master (now Provost), said to her, "Madame, I am assured that extraordinary man Mr. Pitt is a pure virgin."

August 12, Wednesday, 8 a.m.—Lady Glenbervie and Fred went the day before yesterday to Sheffield Place, where Barnes and I are to join them in a day or two. There seems no chance now of poor Lord Guilford, and he is probably dead before now. Yet though this event has been impending near four years, and for the last week almost certain and immediate the positive intelligence will be shocking to convey to his sisters.

I have had the little garden before this house (Pay Office, Horse Guards) laid out in square plots and gravel walks, instead of a sort of rickety, dripping, black leafless shrubbery. The person Rice the surveyor employed to do it observed that squares and formal walks are now all the fashion in flower gardens and that ten times as many people now stop to look at this as used to do. It is certain that formal pathways and even straight walks where the extent is very small have got the better of diminutive serpentine. It is surprising how many arguments and reasons people find for proving that the reigning taste in gardening, furniture, dress, and to a degree even in literature, nay even in politics, even in religion, is the best. To talk of the *Line of Beauty* now, which in my boyish days was, at least in Scotland, the constant expression, would be either unin-

telligible or vulgar or pedantic, or the style of the steward's room.

The railing in front of this garden gave rise to a witty pun of old Lady Townshend's against Lord Chatham. Soon after he came into this office the ground it seems was first railed in. Lady Townshend driving through the Park while the work was going on said to the persons with her, "Will that fellow Pitt never have done railing at the expense of the public?" He had just come out of Opposition. A similar or better thing had been said when Lord Orford¹ married the woman who had been so long his kept mistress: "So Sir Robert still continues his old habit of robbing the public."

August 18, Tuesday, 9.30 a.m., Sheffield Place.—Barnes and I left the Pay Office yesterday at 6 a.m. in my open chaise and arrived here by 4 where I found Lady Glenbervie and Fred looking much better than the Monday before when they left me. The only stranger here is a Mrs. or Miss Russell, sister to the late Sir John Russell, whom I knew at the Bar, before I was called to it, and a descendant of Oliver Cromwell, as Disbrowe is. His only male descendant is, I believe, a Mr. Oliver Cromwell,² an attorney, and, notwithstanding his birth and his profession, a quiet, sensible, worthy man. Mrs. Russell was maid of the bedchamber to the Princess Amelia,³ and must know some anecdotes of that bedchamber. Lally dined with me on Thursday again, and after dinner showed me an extraordinary letter he wrote some time since to Buonaparté, or as he is now called in France Bonaparte, in two [*sic*] syllables.

Sir G[eorge Carrington] brought Lady Carrington to tea with me on Sunday evening. She is neither pretty nor ugly, and if it were allowable to guess from seeing her for half any hour, neither agreeable nor much otherwise.

August 19, Wednesday, 4 p.m.—Yesterday and to-day I have

¹ Sir Robert Walpole.

² He was clerk to St. Thomas's Hospital and wrote biographical studies of the Protector and his sons. It was his vanity to model his handwriting on that of his illustrious ancestor.

³ The second daughter of George II, who died unmarried in 1786.

received from Farquhar most pleasing and very unexpected accounts of a very favourable change in Lord Guilford's disease.

Mrs. Russell went away this morning. Her aunt Mrs. Fanny Russell was her predecessor in her place about old Princess Amelia. As she was dressing or assisting to dress her royal mistress one 30th of January the Duke of Cumberland or some other of the Princess's brothers came into the room, and remarking that it was the day of King Charles's martyrdom, said to her, "You ought to mortify particularly to-day, Fanny, on account of the guilt of your ancestor." "Sir," answered she, "Don't you think it mortification enough for me to be dressing your sister." ¹

Alas, this second attempt on Boulogne seems to have proved a very fruitless waste of English lives, and I conjecture of much English treasure. It took place last Sunday.

August 20, Thursday, 8 a.m.—Frank came here to dinner yesterday. His *manière d'être*, his prologues and epilogues, etc., and the sort of society he lives in—young Colman, Kemble, etc.—give me the idea of the sort of person meant in the miscellanies of the seventeenth century when a prologue or copy of verses is described as written by *a person of honour*. He has much of the good nature and humour of his family. ²

Barnes and I have formed the resolution of reading the *Iliad* through while we are here, and have got together all the apparatus of editions, lexicons, etc., which Lord Sheffield's very useful library affords.

10 p.m.—We have been a drive round the grounds, which in many parts are beautiful, and the views of the house from many points extremely striking. But there is but one drive,

C'è del buono, c'è del bello !
Ma, per dio, e sempre quello !

as was said of the works of a famous Italian composer who had no variety in his music.

¹ Lady Glenbervie heard this anecdote from her grandfather, who was in the Prince of Wales's household at the time.—G.

² Francis North, fourth Earl of Guilford, was an amateur of dramatic art and a friend of players. His own play, *The Kentish Baron*, was a success at the Haymarket in 1791.

August 21, Friday.—Lord Sheffield and Mrs. Clinton have just received letters from Colonel Clinton¹ at Madeira. He arrived at Madeira 23rd July and got possession of the fort next day without resistance. His letters are dated the 27th. This possession, if he keeps it, may be of great importance. It is a key to the Brazils, and supplies the West and East Indies and Great Britain with wine.

I have read on in Homer to near the middle of the fourth book, and so has Barnes. I rejoice to find him nearly as easy as English. I am also reading Horace's Satires with Lady Glenbervie.

As her father's tendency to drowsiness was a frequent theme of clumsy and illiberal attacks in the House of Commons, so it furnished him with many ready and happy repartees. He said one day to Sawbridge² or some such person who had been harping on that string, "I admit that I have that failing, and I am obliged to the gentleman for his good-natured endeavours to cure me of it."

August 24, Monday, 12 m., Sheffield Place.—To-day I have received a notice from the War Office that the King has appointed me one of the commissioners for managing the affairs of the Military Asylum and requesting my attendance next Wednesday, 26th inst. I cannot go, and indeed I believe it is intended the Paymasters shall be only nominal commissioners. The institution is on the plan, I believe, of the École Militaire.

August 27, Thursday, 1 p.m., Sheffield Place.—Lord Sheffield showed us yesterday a correspondence between Dr. Parr and him on the subject of an inscription which he had desired Parr to write for a monument in honour of Gibbon to be erected in this parish church of Fletching. Lord Sheffield had presumed to suggest some doubts as to some expressions in the inscription. The intolerable arrogance of Parr's replies is very characteristic. "*I have,*" says he, "*perfect confidence in my own taste and erudition.*"

I have read this morning *Attala*, by Chateaubriand, a sort of

¹ Afterwards General Sir William Henry Clinton.

² John Sawbridge, M.P. first for Hythe and afterwards for London, and Lord Mayor of London in 1775.

poem in prose, which it seems has made a vast *fracas* at Paris, espoused by the Aristocrates and *parlement* of Christianity, and abused by the Jacobins. It was lent me by Lally, and is by him much admired, as I should have expected. It has very considerable merit, and particularly in the description of the magnificent natural scenery of North America. Landscapes in verse or prose are rarely interesting or very intelligible. Here they are both. There are besides many other beauties, but French tinsel and opera thoughts and decorations mingle themselves frequently, sometimes ludicrously, with what is really sublime or pathetic. In the midst of a most elaborate and terrific description of a hurricane a tear drops from the eye of the heroine on the hand of the hero and her lover, an American savage, who immediately says, "*Orage du coeur, est-ce là une goutte de ta pluie ?*"

August 29, Saturday, 1 p.m.—Lord Nelson has again returned to the Downs, after having issued in general orders a very ill-penned bravado to his squadron as a preamble to the communication of what seemed to me but an equivocal approbation by Lord St. Vincent of his former attempts.

Frank North left us to-day. He is very good-natured and good-humoured with good parts entirely lost—*Improba Siren, Desidia !* for it is indolence that not only prevents him from the greater degrees of exertion which business and a profession would require, but from those which the modes and decencies of good company render necessary. Hence he spends all his time with actors and managers, profligate though witty men, for it costs him no effort to club his share of wit.

He is very affectionate to his brothers and sisters, and particularly so to our little Fred. I cannot help loving him, though I also cannot help regretting that the second son of Lord Chatham, whom I cannot love, has acted so different a part in life from the second son of Lord Guilford.

Sept. 1, Tuesday, 9 a.m.—I finished yesterday the whole of Horace and the day before the twelfth book of the *Iliad*. I had begun the regular reperusal of the former of these divine poets so long ago as the first of January, 1801, but had been

interrupted by many avocations. Since I have been here I have read all his Satires (except the three first), his Epistles and Art of Poetry, together with Pope's imitations, some of Francis's translation, and a great many of Dacier, Sunadon, Gesner, Baxter and Zeunius's notes. Lady Glenbervie has got nearly to the end of the second book of Horace's Satires, and enters fully and with great delight into the meaning, spirit, and beauties of the author, both in his lyric and other poetry. She has been particularly pleased with the *Forte ibam*, etc., and the dialogue with the mad Stoic Damasippus.

Barnes, Fred, and I are going to set out on a journey to Eastbourne and Brighthelmstone this morning for two or three days. After a very heavy rain which lasted the greater part of yesterday, but had been the first for above a fortnight of the finest season ever known, we have to-day very fine clear weather with a drying north wind. I take the twelve last books of Homer with me.

Sept. 6, Sunday, 9 a.m.—We only went to Eastbourne, where we arrived on Tuesday evening, and returned here on Friday to dinner.

At Eastbourne I found Sir John Skynner living with his daughter Mrs. Richard Ryder and her husband, and I breakfasted and dined with them on Wednesday. Mr. Ryder had gone to town with his father Lord Harrowby and a younger son, who has taken orders, on Thursday.

Sir John Skynner, who was educated at Westminster, and in college, though decidedly of opinion that it is of great advantage for a boy to stand out (as it is called) for college, seemed to doubt how far it may be advisable for Fred actually to become a King's scholar. I have great reliance on his judgment. But I shall have time to consider the matter fully and repeatedly.

On my return here I found Mr. and Mrs. Weyland, junr., Miss Chester and Henry Clive, a student of law, nephew to the late Lord Clive, and last night Count Rumford came here to stay till Monday.

Count Rumford was formerly Mr. and afterwards Sir Benjamin Thompson. He is an American, and having come to

England during the American War¹ was employed by Lord G[eorge] G[ermain] first as a private secretary and afterwards as Under-Secretary, in which last situation he was supposed to have made some improper communication and Lord George found it necessary or advisable to remove him, but he went to America, and with the sanction of Government raised a regiment or provincial corps for the King's service, and was made a knight or baronet. After the Peace he went to Germany, and some years ago the public in England, who had entirely lost sight of him, were surprised to find him first Minister of the late Elector of Bavaria. He afterwards came over here with credentials as Minister for that Court, but our Ministry refused to receive one of the King's subjects in that character. That at least was the ground taken. But I believe his former conduct was the motive. I think I heard Mr. Pitt say or at least hint this. He had been made Count Rumford some years before that time.

As a man of science, his reputation is considerable, and his history shows great activity and versatility of genius. I think I have heard he was originally a schoolmaster in a village in America called Rumford or Romford, and that he chose to take his title from thence, which is manly. When he was first introduced to Lord George he was it seems very handsome. *Formosus et centum puer artium*. Lady Glenbervie remembers him going about with Lady George and her daughters to balls as a sort of humble dependant and dancing with the young ladies when they could get no other partner. At that time he was considered as the favourite, at once, of the father, mother and daughters, and the ill-fame of the father then, and the conduct of the daughters since, have served to keep the scandal alive with regard to them. This anecdote reminds one of what was said of Caesar: *Omnium mulierum maritus, maritorum omnium uxor*.

Sept. 10, Thursday, 1.30 p.m., Sheffield Place.—Barnes and I in my open chaise and Weyland and Fred in Weyland's curricula set out yesterday morning at six on an excursion to

¹ He was born at Woburn (Mass.) in 1753, and came to England in 1775 in a frigate bearing despatches to Germain. Glenbervie's account of this remarkable man, so far as it goes, seems to be substantially correct.

Brighthelmstone, arrived at nine, stayed three hours and returned here to dinner, with a cargo of shell and other fish which I had myself bought in the market there. The purchase was quite a new transaction for me, and, as it is a neat and plentiful market, very entertaining.

There are great additions to Brighthelmstone since I was there in 1794, and the Prince is now adding two large bulges or bow-window rooms to each end of his house fronting the Steine, and also throwing out two bows in the back between the side perpendicular wings and the portico. They say the bow which fronts the south is to be a dining room and that fronting the north a greenhouse. At present he lives in a small house next to the library formerly kept by Crawford. Mrs. Fitzherbert lives in one near this. The chief inmates of his own are MacMahon (whose father Ogilvy, whom I met in one of the libraries, was a footman in Dublin and has often waited behind his chair) and Trevis the Jew. I understand (from the same authority) that Mrs. Fitzherbert is scarcely visited or taken notice of by the few people of fashion now there. The Duchess of Marlborough and Lady Louisa Connolly¹ have declined invitations to music at the Prince's.

In Donaldson's library I met Fielding, and was glad to point out to Fred the son of the immortal author of *Tom Jones*.²

Lady Glenbervie repeated to me to-day, what she had often mentioned, that her father used to say that the best scholar in his time at Eton, universally so acknowledged, had on leaving school or college sunk into total obscurity, and that he had by mere accident heard of him twenty years afterwards as a country clergyman somewhere in Yorkshire.

Sept. 11, Friday, 1 p.m., Sheffield Place.—Repton³ and his son came here last night, and they are gone out this morning to

¹ Daughter of the second Duke of Richmond.

² Fielding left two sons, William, a barrister, and Allen, a clergyman, both of whom were alive at this time.

³ Humphry Repton, a fashionable landscape gardener. He had two sons, George Stanley and John Adey, both architects. George, who designed the Pavilion at Brighton in collaboration with his father, subsequently eloped with Lord Eldon's eldest daughter.

go over the grounds with Lord Sheffield. Repton calls the largest piece of water (one of the chief beauties of the place) his lake. He was consulted a good many years ago by Lord Sheffield and before his time Brown¹ was, both by Lord Sheffield and Lord Delaware, of whom he bought it. It is mentioned in Repton's publication. He has been trying to persuade Lord Sheffield to get rid of that terrible eyesore, the pond immediately under the south front.

Sept. 12, Saturday, 9 p.m., Sheffield Place.—The last time Lally dined with me we read over together some speeches in *Othello*, and particularly that which ends:

Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone!

Lord Sheffield received an English letter from him to-day in which he says, "Pray tell Lord Glenbervie that with his reading of 'Pomp, pride and circumstance of glorious war,' he has set me so on fire that I lost sleep for three nights and could not recover it but by audaciously translating into French verse the whole of that truly admirable scene. I keep it ready for him, as it is too voluminous to be sent by the post."

Sept. 13, Sunday, 10 p.m., Sheffield Place.—Lord and Lady Pelham came here to dinner. I have had a long conversation with him since about the affairs of Ireland and this country, which he began.

To show instances of the grounds people may see for thinking there is a juggle between Addington and Pitt, he mentioned to me that having the intention lately of asking Mr. and Mrs. Addington to dine in a family party with him and Lady Pelham at Putney, he found Pitt was living in Addington's house and therefore he had been obliged to ask him too, and that the other day after the Cabinet, having some business with Addington, he went to his house, and found Pitt sitting in Addington's parlour reading papers.

This reminded me of what Weyland told us the other day, that riding by the back of Wimbledon he saw at a turning of the Common two gentlemen walking arm in arm, seemingly

¹ The famous "Capability" Brown, the father of landscape gardening.

in deep discourse, who, on his approaching them, appeared to be Pitt and Addington.

We leave this place to-morrow at eight in the morning, when I shall have been here four and Lady Glenbervie and Fred five weeks.

Sept. 17, Thursday, 1.30 p.m., Pay Office.—We arrived in town Tuesday evening before dark. My time has been chiefly employed in the new book-cases I have had placed in the pavilion room. God knows how long they may stay there. In the meantime I will endeavour to enjoy the room while I have it. The books I always shall enjoy while I live and can read.

Sept. 18, Friday, 3 p.m.—I learned yesterday from Egerton, the bookseller, that on Dodsley's death Burke's receipt for the price paid him for the account of the British Settlement in America¹ was found. Burke, though generally said to have been the author, never acknowledged it. I was told at the same time that it is certain and perfectly known in the trade that he was the author of the historical part of the *Annual Register*, down to that for the year 1792 inclusive, and that his occupations of various sorts during the last years of his life was the cause of the great arrear in that publication, and Dr. Laurence,² who is understood to have engaged to write the same part of that one of the two continuations which is published by Rivington and others, is in like manner so much employed as a civilian that there is yet no new number since that for 1792. The other continuation by the booksellers who bought the right from Dodsley's executors (but could not purchase the same authors) has been brought down several years later. I presume the former will drop.

Sept. 26, Saturday, 9 a.m.—This is the twelfth anniversary of our wedding. We were married in the last house on the left hand in Lower Grosvenor Street next the Square, being then

¹ *An Account of the European Settlements in America* was published in 1757. Burke denied its authorship but admitted to having revised it. Malone said that it was written by William Burke, Edmund's cousin.

² French Laurence, an intimate friend of Burke's and counsel to the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

the house of Lady Glenbervie's father. There were present Lord and Lady North (her father and mother), Francis Lord Guilford (her grandfather), the Bishop of Winchester (her uncle), who married us, Mr. and Mrs. George North (now Lord Guilford) and Francis North (I think) and William Adam—Fred North was then in Holland—and Miss Anne and Miss Charlotte North (now Lady Sheffield and Lady Charlotte Lindsay). When Lord North gave Kitty away he said, with great emotion, "It is the best thing I ever gave away." The Bishopric of Winchester, which he had given to his brother, was one of the best. But I can say with truth that what he said of his daughter has been confirmed by every year, day and hour's experience ever since. I am certain no couple was ever more happy. I have never intimately known any who were half as happy. But I have never known a woman with such an understanding, such a temper, such a heart and such principles.

The expectation of an invasion is greater than I ever remember. William Elliot called here yesterday. He is at Pelham's at Putney. He thinks we are not prepared for land defence. Windham is in town and (as I understand from Elliot) strongly of the same opinion. On my return to town I called in Downing Street and left my name, but have heard nothing from Addington.

Oct. 1, Thursday, 7.30 a.m., Pay Office.—We went to the Pheasantry on Saturday the 26th and stayed the guests of our guests, the Weylands, till Tuesday (midday) when we came here to dinner. I finished the *Iliad* on that day, and I think the three last books, and particularly the two last, much the finest of the whole. There are great beauties, but very considerable inequalities, in Pope's translation of them.

As we came to town we saw Pitt and Lord Chatham walking together in the Mall in seemingly very earnest and anxious conversation.

We called on the three Secretaries of State and their wives, Lord Hobart at Ham Common, and Lords Pelham and Hawkesbury on Putney Common, on our way to town, but only saw Hobart, who was mounting his horse to go to town to a Cabinet.

Lady Katherine was told last week by Mrs. Vernon of a particular visit the Princess made lately to Canning. The pretext was to visit the Harcourts at St. Leonard's Hill, but the Cannings live in the neighbourhood, and she spent one day at General Harcourt's and two at Canning's. During her stay there (the only company being her Royal Highness, Mrs. Vernon, and Mr. and Mrs. Canning) she was constantly taking Canning into a corner or aside, whispering, etc., as usual, but Mrs. Vernon says Canning took great pains to bring Mrs. Canning forward, to address his discourse to her, to commend her, etc.

A few nights ago, sitting late at tea with Mrs. Vernon, the Princess said to her, "I like Englishmen very well but I cannot say the same of Englishwomen. It is impossible to open one's heart, they are so cold." Mrs. Vernon said she was sorry her countrywomen were so disagreeable to her Royal Highness. "They certainly are. They have no friendliness." Mrs. Vernon: "I have had the good fortune to meet with many warm friends among them." Princess: "I know none. I like but Lady Sheffield, Lady Glenbervie and Lady Lavington,¹ and I cannot open myself to them. In short, I think English women detestable." She probably at the time was out of humour with Mrs. Vernon.

Oct. 2, Friday, 4 p.m.—A *Gazette* extraordinary has been published this morning containing merely the following paragraph.

"Downing Street, October 2nd, 1801.

"*Preliminaries* of Peace between his Majesty and the *French Republic* were signed last night at Lord Hawkesbury's office in Downing Street by the right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, on the part of his Majesty, and by M. Otto, on the part of the French Government."

I suppose no state secret was ever so well kept. It was not suspected by any news writer, nor by the public in general.

¹ Lady Lavington appears on the first page of this volume as Lady Payne, her husband, Sir Ralph Payne, who was twice Governor of the Leeward Islands, having been created Lord Lavington in 1795.

Stocks have risen to-day, three per cent Consols from 59 to 68 and Omnium from 5 to 18. The terms, however, are not yet divulged.

Having taken a stroll from curiosity along Pall Mall and St. James's Street I met three persons who seemed very differently affected by the intelligence. Sir John Macpherson,¹ who affected to Lord Hobart (who was then with me) to be all rapture; William Elliot, who said he was very sorry indeed—that Great Britain and Europe were sacrificed. I said I did not know the terms, but he answered, "It is so whatever be the terms."

I thought it a piece of politeness to leave my name with Addington this morning.

Charles Gordon is just gone in the Canterbury diligence to Watson's Academy at Shooter's Hill.

Oct. 4, Sunday, 8.30 a.m.—Hiley Addington's note was in four lines. "That preliminaries of peace were this afternoon signed by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Otto and on terms which, I think, the country cannot fail to approve." The outline was yesterday in all the papers, and unless it shall be made clear that funds could not be procured for continuing the war I think the country will have great reason not to approve of the terms.

It is said there was a great difference of opinion in the Cabinet and among those of the late Ministers who were consulted, and that Addington having represented to the King that he must make peace or resign, and could not obtain no better terms [*sic*], the King ordered him to close.

It is also said that Solomons has made about half a million by the fluctuation in the stocks, and that Otto comes in for his share. Query also as to Coutts, who has had so much intercourse with Otto, and whom I met the day of the *Gazette*, quite in raptures with the peace, though such a universal *frondeur*.

I do not myself think Addington will stand out the session. What line shall I take, and what will be our fate?

Mrs. Holroyd (maiden sister to Lord Sheffield) has written to Lady Sheffield that she hears "the Prince has told the

¹ Governor-General of India, 1785-6.

Chancellor that he had contrived to have a private interview with the Princess and that she is with child."

Oct. 5, Monday, 4 p.m.—I wrote this morning to the First Lord of the Treasury reminding him of my wish for diplomatic employment.

Oct. 11, Sunday, 1 p.m., Pay Office.—Mrs. Vernon assured Lady Glenbervie the other day that she was quite certain there had been no intercourse between the Prince and Princess. But how can she be sure of this? A great part of the summer she has been absent from Blackheath, and the Prince is said, on being told that there is a report of the pregnancy of the Princess, to have replied that it was by no means impossible.

I have not yet heard from Addington, and feel a good deal out of humour.

After a good deal of impatience and suspense in the town, a General or Colonel Laureston arrived yesterday forenoon about half past 11 with the ratification of the preliminaries. To the great disgrace I think of John Bull, the populace drew him, in Otto's carriage, from Pero's Hotel, first to Downing Street and afterwards across the Park, under my window, to the door of the Admiralty Garden, whence he and Otto alighted and paid a visit to Lord St. Vincent, and afterwards along the side of the Mall, back to St. James's Street. The guns were fired, and a general illumination of the public offices and the whole town took place at night.

I walked partly, and partly drove about in a hackney coach, through the principal streets in this part of the town, with Miss Kitty Chester, Mr. Barnes and Fred. The transparencies were few and very indifferent, and the illuminations in general much less brilliant than I remember on many other occasions, Keppell's acquittal,¹ the 1st of June, 1794, etc., etc. We had heard that at Otto's in Hereford Street there was to be an ostentatious representation consisting of a mixture of French and English arms and emblems, but on going there we found nothing but a common illumination round the door and in the windows,

¹ When court-martialled for his conduct of the operations off Brest in 1779.

and the letters G.R. on one side, and F.R. (French Republic) on the other, with the transparent inscription of "*Peace and General Happiness.*"

At 9 o'clock, the air being very close and hot and a sort of reddish dimness in the sky, like the appearance of a great fire at a distance, and where the flame is hid, a most uncommon storm of thunder, lightning and rain came on, and continued till about midnight. I never saw so many and such bright flashes of lightning in this country.

In the forenoon I met Mr. Fox walking along Cockspur Street with Mrs. Armistead¹ leaning on his arm, and another woman. He looked in great health and, for him, not corpulent. It was, as I guessed, the anniversary of his election, but I did not guess, what I have this morning read in the *Weekly Messenger*, that at the dinner he would approve of the Peace.

There has been a rebellion at Westminster and Fred has in a degree taken part with the rebels. It is now I believe over. He was of course only a very subaltern personage, but I am glad he stood by the rest of the school, for it was almost universal. I should be very sorry if he were ever to be a ring-leader in such a business, but, on the other hand, to stand off from a general act of the school would argue qualities I should dislike to see in him.

Last night under one of the transparencies was written *Redeunt Saturnia regna*. I observed to Mr. Barnes that if it be true (as is reported) [Pitt] is coming again into office, the first part of the line might perhaps be supplied, *Jam redit et virgo*.

A very unfavourable letter yesterday from Farquhar by which it appears that Lord Guilford's strength, and spirits too, are going fast, and that, notwithstanding scarifications repeatedly renewed the general dropsy is resuming its ground. He is going to make an effort to travel to town.

Oct. 14, *Wednesday, 9 a.m.*—Being sent to by Lord Hawkesbury to request that I would attend on Monday the 12th inst. at Windsor to make a Council for passing a proclamation for

¹ To whom he had already been married for several years, although the fact was not made public until 1802.

the cessation of hostilities, Lady Glenbervie and I and Miss Chester (who is now on a visit with us) went there that forenoon and dined and slept at Mr. Sneyd's, Lieutenant Colonel of the Staffordshire Militia. The Council was attended by the Chancellor, the Duke of Portland (as Lord President), Lord Walsingham, who lives in the neighbourhood, the Duke of Kent, Lord Hobart, and myself.

The Duke of Kent had received notice and had come over in the morning from Ealing, where he lives in a house he bought last year of Mrs. Fitzherbert. He asked Fawkener if his attendance was necessary to complete the number, for that otherwise his being there might be thought obtrusive by the King, who did not like his sons to intermeddle in public business farther than he might desire it.

I found the King looking much better than when I had seen him at Cuffnells.

Addington on going into the Council shook hands with me and said something about Freudenreich's paper which I had sent him, but mentioned nothing about my letter of the 5th.

By circumstances in Mr. and Mrs. Sneyd's conversation (she is in great favour and makes one of the Queen's party every evening) I believe the King very much dislikes the Peace. Addington I thought extremely out of spirits.

In a letter from Lady Sheffield to Lady Glenbervie yesterday she mentioned that Lady Chichester told Lord Sheffield of the report that the Princess is with child; that she had heard that one evening in summer the Prince coming home to Carlton House, and observing an unusual bustle among the servants, asked what was the matter; that he was told that as it was a very rainy night, the Princess, who had come to town in the course of the day, had been unwilling to return to Blackheath, and was gone to bed there; that the Prince had said he was glad of it and sending for her maid bid her tell the Princess he was coming to bed to her; that he accordingly did and that in consequence she had proved with child.

Though I have begun to transcribe all the King's letters in books bound uniformly with this, I cannot help copying the

following, dated Queen's House, 21st April, 1779, as it shows how justly the King has seized the characters of Wedderburn and Eden,¹ then Attorney General and Under-Secretary of State :

“ It is impossible to be more pleased than I am with the very frank manner in which Lord North opened himself to me on the present ill-behaviour of the Attorney General. It had the appearance of unbosoming to a friend. It is that has induced me to state as shortly as I can how I think Lord North can best supply this deficiency, and I honestly think that he may conduct public business with much more personal comfort to himself, for Lord North is much above any little intrigue, which is certainly very prevalent in the composition of the Attorney General and still more so in that of his pupil Mr. Eden. What I have to recommend is that Lord North would place his chief political confidence in the Chancellor (Thurlow) who is a very firm and fair man, will, if called upon, give on any business his sentiments, yet not ambitious of going out of his own particular line. Therefore will not attempt the part of a Mentor, which the two other gentlemen have but too much aimed at, not to have caused Lord North much uneasiness, and every quarrel could only be healed by some job. Let the Lord Advocate be gained to attend the whole session, and let him [have] the confidence [of Lord North] concerning measures in Parliament, but not concerning the filling of employments, which might, as the former mode, give trouble.”

11.30 *p.m.*—I have just finished the perusal of all the King's letters. They are particularly interesting during the last four years of Lord North's Administration. Those written to him when Secretary of State are, for the most part short, dry, official notes, though here and there a faint appearance of former confidence is perceptible and several strong marks of the rooted dislike of his Majesty for the measures of American and Irish independency to which the Rockingham Administration had compelled him.

¹ Lord Loughborough and Lord Auckland.

The correspondence relative to the Coalition attempted through the interposition of Thurlow at the end of 1779 is particularly curious, and the statement of that transaction drawn up by the King is remarkably clear and well-stated. I observe that in the whole of the King's correspondence Jenkinson's name scarcely ever appears, except relative to place arrangements in which he was personally concerned; and that the *name* of *Dundas* never once occurs, though he is latterly frequently mentioned under the description of Lord Advocate.

Oct. 16, 12.30 p.m.—Lady Glenbervie told me to-day the reason of the coldness which the Princess of Wales has lately shown to Miss Hayman, who was so great a favourite and had really a strong attachment to the Princess. It seems on one particular occasion, perhaps about a year ago, when there was a large mixed company to dinner at Blackheath, after the gentlemen joined the ladies in the drawing room upstairs, the Princess (as she frequently does) took some young man (I believe Frere) downstairs to the Blue Room, which opens into the greenhouse, and remained there some hours, till, on their returning, sandwiches were brought, late in the evening, and soon after the company broke up. The next morning Miss Hayman took courage to execute a purpose she had long entertained of representing to the Princess that our manners and modes of society were so different from those of other countries, that what did not certainly strike her Royal Highness as at all particular would be thought so here and give rise to unpleasant and unjust remarks, which a little more attention to our prejudices would prevent. The Princess received this hint very ill, told her she neither desired nor liked nor improved by advice, that she had her ladies for attendants not counsellors, and that she had on several occasions observed that some of them by their looks and manner had put on an appearance of disapproving of her conduct, and thereby had drawn the eyes and observations of others to what otherwise would not have been noticed. This summer Miss Hayman has been allowed to be absent six months. Formerly she could scarcely be parted with at all.

She told all this to Lady Sheffield. Her conduct is very much to her credit.

Oct. 19, Monday, 4 p.m.—I sent my excuses to the Speaker yesterday. Lady Glenbervie, who was also invited, expecting the possibility of poor Lord Guilford's arrival, did not choose to go, nor I to leave her. Besides I perceive a disinclination to quit our own fireside growing fast on her and me.

Oct. 20, Tuesday, 10.30 a.m.—Lady Glenbervie is just setting out to meet her poor brother, who, by Farquhar's letter, was to move from Axminster to Bridport yesterday, and to remain there till Wednesday or Thursday. Lady Glenbervie therefore probably will find him there.

11 p.m.—I have this morning received a letter from Addington wishing to speak to me and that I would dine with him next Friday at Wimbledon. I have also received an appointment for *11* to-morrow from Lord Pelham.

Mr. Freudenreich and Mr. Coutts Trotter dined with me to-day. Freudenreich has heard from a Mr. Bossé, an officer in De Meuron's regiment in our service, who has gone to and fro as courier between this country and Petersburg, that matters are taking a bad turn at that Court; that the Emperor¹ has lately taken a French mistress, and that he is very shy and timid and shuts himself up very much; that the Empress Dowager is endeavouring to obtain the direction of affairs, and that Panin, who is much in the interest of England, is losing credit; that the Zebows are not disgraced, but are not ambitious of political situation and power and only wished, by engaging in the conspiracy, to secure their safety in the enjoyment of the dissipation of the capital. Bossé gives him details of the assassination of Paul different from those which have been published.

Oct. 21, Wednesday, 10.30 a.m.—Coutts Trotter told me yesterday that he has heard from a person who has frequent opportunities of seeing the King that his Majesty never mentions or encourages any conversation about the Peace; and Mrs. Sneyd told Lady Katherine the same thing when we were at Windsor.

¹ Alexander I. Paul had been assassinated in March, 1801.

8 *p.m.*.—I had a long and confidential conversation with Pelham on the subject of the Peace, the opposition expected from Lord Grenville and his relations, the support of Pitt, etc.

It is true that Pitt has been living entirely with Addington and Lord Hawkesbury, and that Lord Grenville has had no intercourse with the latter except by letter and that he was [*sic*] written to him (dating the letter affectedly from Stowe) that he cannot support him on the Peace. It is true also that Lord Hawkesbury is now with Pitt at Walmer. Pelham agreed entirely with me that the world will justly infer from all this that there is a juggle between Pitt and Addington.

Pelham says Dundas is to absent himself on the discussions relative to the Peace, but that in a contest between Pitt and the Grenvilles (which he agrees with me is to be the struggle next session) Dundas will certainly not be on Grenville's side. He says that in talking over a plan of a new arrangement last spring with him, it struck him particularly that Dundas did not mention Grenville as a member of it. I told him I heard Dundas was to have a peerage, which he did not seem to know. While I was with him Lord Camden called and he went out to him. He says Lord Camden is very uneasy at the thoughts of the approaching rupture between Pitt and Grenville. He said he did not see how Lord Grenville could quarrel with the present terms after what he himself had proposed in 1797 and that he could not quarrel with the Treaty for being made with the Consular Government when he had been then willing to treat with the Directorial. I observed to him that in Lord Malmesbury's project of 1797 the Cape was not to be given up. I also told him that the public I thought were much disappointed that we have not retained either Malta or Minorca, and also a great [number of] persons that the Cape falls into the hands of France. That Holland is substantially now a mere province of France I observed was evident, even from the treaty just concluded between France and Russia and published in the French papers, in which France stipulates that the articles shall extend to the Batavian Republic.

Pelham agrees with me that the real motive of Pitt's re-

signation was (as Lord Grenville was become so obstinate and untractable) to get rid of him, and that Dundas having found himself unable to stand his ground from the state of his health and the loss of his weight with the King, exerted himself to make a general resignation of Pitt, Grenville, and the others cover the discredit of his own individual disgrace, which he could not long have parried. Pelham treats the pretext of the Catholic question as ridiculously false. He says Lord Cornwallis owned to him the other day that now the Irish Catholics do not expect anything during the present reign.

He says the King told him he was persuaded Lord Grenville had not meant to resign, but had hoped to force him to give way. He had said to him that Lord Grenville was a very able man, but extremely obstinate. This is exactly what he said of him to me.

Pelham showed me two notes from the King with observations on some papers he had sent, very voluminous, but which he appeared to have read. The notes were of the same sort with those I have lately read from his Majesty to Lord North. They only run in the third person : "The King has perused and returns the papers sent him by Lord Pelham, etc." The hand remarkably neat and carefully written.

It is curious that after a long warfare between the sons of Lord Chatham and Lord Holland, who had been so long political opponents, a contest should be about to commence between the same son of Lord Chatham and the son of George Grenville, who had in the latter part of his life had a like political war with the father. Is not the principal spring of the ill-understanding between Pitt and Lord Grenville to be traced to the question whether the firm should be Pitt and Grenville or Grenville and Pitt ?

Oct. 23, Friday, 10 a.m.—The intelligence of the surrender of Alexandria on the 2nd ulto. arrived yesterday and was announced, notwithstanding the Peace, by the usual discharge of cannon.

It is certainly a glorious and therefore a fortunate circumstance for this country that the complete overthrow of the grand and

favourite enterprise of Buonaparte has been effected by the skill and valour of British generals and a British army (for the Turks will not be thought to have contributed much of either) before the operation of the pacification could have an opportunity of arresting our success. After all perhaps the chief praise is due to the wisdom and fairness of Dundas in forming and adhering to the plan of the Egyptian expedition.

Edwards¹ the bookseller dined with me yesterday. He says Lord Spencer's collection is richer in classics than even the National Library, enriched as it now is with the spoil of so many countries. I asked him what he thought Lord Spencer's may be worth. He thinks it may have cost him £25,000. He says the Pinelli Library cost him and Robson² £10,000 before he had cleared it of the expenses, duties, etc., and that he and Robson did not clear on the whole above £500 by it exclusive of the interest of their money. Many of the Italian books, such as local and provincial histories, antiquities, etc., were bought in and sold literally for waste paper, and in Italy they would have fetched a great deal of money. What brought them home was the classics. He says he gained £1,500 by the Paris Library. On his first expedition to Italy he says he found the Cardinal Loménie³ a very troublesome competitor; that, afterwards, on the Cardinal's retirement to Sens (having renounced his Hat and embraced the Revolution) he went to visit him there, when he offered to sell him his whole collection, which he declined, but made him an offer of a price for a select part of it, the most curious, which was accepted, and I think he said he afterwards bought the natural history books; that the remainder was sold at Paris for more than they had cost.

He gave us the history of Lord Spencer's purchase of Revizky's collection. Edwards was going to France and Italy and had received a variety of orders and commissions from Lord Spencer. Towards the time of his departure Lord Spencer coming into

¹ James Edwards (1757-1816). He bought, and re-sold, the Pinelli Library at Venice, and the famous Bedford missal.

² James Robson (1733-1806).

³ Étienne Charles Loménie de Brienne, First Minister of France from August, 1787, to August, 1788.

his shop found Revizky there, and said to him, "No expense or pains will ever enable me to form so complete a collection as you." Revizky answered, "Will you buy my collection?" and Lord Spencer immediately said, "Yes, and I will refer the price to Edwards." "No," said Revizky, "not so fast. I must consider of it and add many conditions. One I will now mention, that I may have free access to the books after they become yours." To this Lord Spencer said he would be so far from objecting that the circumstance would enhance their value to him. "Well," says Revizky, "but I must consider of it." Edwards when at Paris received a letter from Lord Spencer to say he had concluded for £6,000, one half in money, the other in annuity at ten per cent (or £300 a year) for the life of Revizky. He died in two and a half years.

Edwards says the great advantage he derived from the Pinelli Library was a skill of rare and valuable books; that Lord Spencer when he began collecting used to rely much on the judgment of Elmsley.¹

The King's library was begun by the purchase Dalton made of Consul Smith's at Venice. It is now very choice. The King spends most of his time in it when in town.

Edwards says Belsham² and Dr. Gregory³ (author of an Ecclesiastical History and I believe the person who wrote the *Economy of Nature*) are the chief writers in the *New Annual Register*. Belsham the historian it seems is a gentleman of no profession, who lives in the town of Bedford (a great nest I believe of Dissenters). His brother is master of the school at Hackney.⁴

Dodsley after the successful sale of Burke's work on the

¹ Peter Elmsley (1736-1802), bookseller, largely responsible for the production of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.

² William Belsham, historical writer and Whig pamphleteer.

³ Francis Gregory, D.D. His *History of the Christian Church* appeared in 1790 and *The Economy of Nature Explained and Illustrated* in 1796. He wrote much else and edited the *New Annual Register*.

⁴ Thomas Belsham, a well-known Unitarian. At this date he was taking private pupils, Hackney College, where he had been professor of divinity, having ceased to exist in 1796.

French Revolution (who had made no bargain) gave him £1,000. Edwards thinks he must have got more than £2,000 by it.

1.30 *p.m.*—I have just received a letter from Lady Glenbervie at Salisbury, in which she tells me Lord Guilford's favourable opinion of the Peace. He is diverted with the idea of Windham shut up with a very small Opposition with the Grenvilles, who he says are extremely unpopular; that Windham is thought an honest, ingenious man but a Don Quixote, and that he himself never sees him without thinking he has a barber's basin on his head.

Oct. 24, Saturday, 8 a.m.—I had a conversation of about half an hour with Addington before dinner yesterday. He said he had attended to what I had written and that what had occurred to him as consonant to my object was that after the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty some commercial arrangement with France would be necessary, and that it would be his intention, if agreeable to me, to employ me on that occasion. He asked if that was a thing that would be acceptable to me. I answered in the affirmative, adding however that my intention had been to convey a desire of a diplomatical employment whether commercial or political. He said he had that day mentioned to Mr. Otto that such an arrangement as he now referred to would be necessary and that he concurred in that opinion. He then said he had mentioned it also to Lord Hawkesbury, who I find returned from Walmer yesterday. He said it was probable a *general* reference to a future commercial adjustment would be made in one of the articles of the treaty, which he thinks will be concluded in the space of six weeks after the conferences open. I asked him if I was at liberty to converse with Lord Hawkesbury, to which he replied that he wished first to speak to him himself concerning me, and that then I might discuss the matter with him. I understood him to say that he would speak with Lord Hawkesbury upon it to-day.

He then reminded me of my offer to assist him in and out of Parliament, and said he should request of me to take the conduct of the proposed alteration in respect of the salt duties and in the meantime begged that I would look into the general treaties

from that of Ryswick downwards, and form a comparison between the acquisitions made on those occasions and those obtained by the late preliminaries. He said nothing had been ceded to us by the Treaty of Utrecht. I reminded him of Gibraltar and Minorca. Finally I asked him if he could tell me nothing more specific or particular about the commercial negotiation he was disposed to entrust me with. He said no, that he had not had time to turn his mind to detail on that subject, that he had been extremely occupied, had not had two days to himself for the last six months, etc.

He then went a good deal into the subject of the preliminaries as he afterwards did after dinner, when his wife and daughter retired. The strangers at dinner, besides myself, were Grant, Master of the Rolls, Law, Attorney, and Perceval, Solicitor-General.

Addington's method of speaking of the Peace is strongly defensive and apologetic, bottomed on necessity as to the measure, and, as to the terms, on the impossibility of obtaining better. He said if we had refused these terms, and on continuing the war had laid them before the public, and the country had thought they should have been accepted, it would have been impossible to go on. He also intimated that the necessary supplies for two years' war could not have been found, and that the income tax is becoming daily less productive and more unpopular. He says the plentiful harvest and crop of barley will enable him to take to the public the additional halfpenny the brewers imposed last year on their beer, and that Jackson of the Excise has drawn out a scheme which shows that this year at least (perhaps permanently if we have no return of scarcity) £1,800,000 may be expected from that additional duty. Rose and Pitt he says are sanguine enough to think this is not over estimated. He himself is disposed to take credit from it for only £1,200,000.

He repeatedly said it was without continental allies impossible for us to have reduced the continental acquisitions of France, and that there was not the least prospect of obtaining any such alliances; that if we had continued the war four or five years longer, at the end of which period the powers on the continent

might perhaps again have roused themselves, we should have been so exhausted as to have been unable to avail ourselves of that change, whereas now we shall have an opportunity of recruiting our strength, and if the French, in the lapse of a few years, should abuse the immense power they have acquired, we may then be able to co-operate effectually in checking them.

I told him the cession of Malta and Minorca was I believed a general disappointment. He said we could not have kept the first without breaking with the Emperor of Russia, and that the other is a grave to our troops, and a heavy load on our finances.

He said it would be necessary, and he hoped the country would cordially agree, to keep a considerable war establishment proportioned to the great extent of opposite coast now in the possession of France. He told me he had had a conversation of an hour and a half with the King after the Council on Monday se'nnight ; that it was very comfortable, but that he had had one still more comfortable with his Majesty last Monday, when coming in his carriage from Berkshire he had fallen in with the King hunting, and had taken his horse and joined him ; that the King then said, " I own this has been painful to me, as it must have been to you, but I considered whether it was possible to do anything more without continental assistance, and saw plainly it was not, and also that there was no hope of gaining such assistance " ; that in those circumstances he had satisfied himself that what he had done was fit and right !

Addington said he mentioned this on purpose to me (and he repeated it afterwards after dinner) because he knew contrary reports were circulated. I told him they certainly were. He then said the Duke of York had confirmed to him that those were the King's real sentiments.

He took great pains to say that he had seen a great deal of *Pitt* during the summer ; that he had written to him to say that the Peace is such as he highly approved of and would have signed with pleasure. He is to be in town on Monday.

Lord Grenville six weeks ago said he knew no measure of

this Ministry that he did not approve of, and that he could not easily foresee any which he could bring himself to oppose.

Immediately on the conclusion of the preliminaries Lord Hawkesbury sent an express with the terms and a letter to Lord Grenville, who wrote him a very cold answer, which it seems hurt Lord Hawkesbury very much. Pitt had written at the same time a general letter to Lord Grenville whose answer to that was a discussion of the treaty and his reasons for disapproving of it, and also a desire to have an interview with Pitt. This it seems the latter declined, as Addington did a similar overture by Lord Grenville for an interview with him. He says he knew too well his inflexibility, and added he is a very honest man in morals, but in argument the most unfair that can be imagined, and never to be shaken. In short in that respect, the very reverse, he says, of Pitt.

A person had been since with Lord Grenville at Dropmore, and had understood from him then that he should not attend to object to the Peace. But since that time Addington has received a letter from him, *dated at Stowe*, in which he expresses his regret at the necessity of a *separation* from those with whom he has acted (which clearly points fully more at Pitt than Addington) and manifestly conveys that he means to attack not only the preliminaries but the Russian Convention. Addington thinks he resorts to that last ground because he is conscious that *the official conductor of the negotiation* at Lisle¹ could not well rest his opposition on the preliminaries with France (I reminded him, however, that by the project, in that negotiation, not only Celyon, but the Cape and Cochin were to be kept).

The Attorney-General told him what Fawkener told us two days ago at the Cockpit, viz. that Tom Grenville had said to him he would sooner have put his hand in the fire than have signed the preliminaries.

Dundas he says does not come to town before Christmas, but he added immediately, "that was always his intention, and he certainly will not oppose Government."²

¹ Addington's words, which he repeated several times.—G.

² It has been Dundas's policy on occasions like the present to keep in Scotland. He did so at the Coalition.—G.

Windham in answer to a letter Addington had written to him telling him of the signing but without going into the terms, began his letter, "This is dreadful intelligence."

The lawyers had heard, and Addington seemed to acknowledge, that Lord Rosslyn¹ is to oppose. He said an awkwardness had been committed; Lord Hawkesbury had intended, but had forgot till it was too late, to send him the preliminaries; that he is a person very sensible to such attentions.

The Attorney said the Chancellor had said to him that he felt a heavy load on his shoulders, as the brunt of the battle will be to be sustained by him, whereas in his predecessor's time the debates were entirely conducted by Lord Grenville. Addington did not seem to lay any great stress on the parliamentary assistance of Lords Pelham, Hobart and Dartmouth. He says Lord St. Vincent has declared his intention of taking any part in the debates which shall be useful.

He told me, on the subject of the Cape, that Lord St. Vincent and also the majority of those who were in the Cabinet at the time of the treaty at Lisle are of opinion that the Cape could have been of no value to us.

Addington was out of spirits. He seemed to lean with all his weight on Pitt. Pitt was in his words every minute, praises of him, anecdotes of his education, of the intimacy between their fathers, of old Lord Chatham's kindness to himself when a lad, of his friendship with the Dowager Lady Chatham, etc. Law was, I thought, already primed with a reply to Fox's speech at the *Shakespeare*. He produced a copy of the speech with some comments of his own on the margin. Grant, silent and cautious as usual, and Perceval far from elate.

Oct. 25, Sunday, 9 a.m.—Yesterday I saw Lord Pelham at three and stayed with him above an hour. He was just returned from Park Place. I had nothing I could communicate with him about myself. He showed me a letter marked "*Private and Confidential*" from the Duke of Portland, in which he informs him that he has heard from certain authority that Lord

¹ Lord Loughborough, the ex-Chancellor, had been created Earl of Rosslyn on April 21, 1801.

Rosslyn thinks himself neglected in not having received those communications to which his rank, character and the high office he lately held entitled him. *That however Lord Rosslyn may feel from the treatment he has met with from Mr. Addington*, he knew it had been his disposition to give every assistance and support to the measures of Government, but that he had lately declared at Bath (where he is) that he knew nothing of what was going on, not even when Parliament was to meet, and that he supposed he should remain till after Christmas in that state of gloomy uncertainty. The Duke recommended to Pelham to write a private and conciliating letter to him immediately, and concludes with an apology for giving Lord Pelham that trouble because his official situation did not authorise him to write on the subject to Lord Rosslyn, and no other proper channel had occurred to him. The letter was studied like all the Duke's, but seemed to me tinctured (as it is natural it should) with something of the same discontent which he describes in Lord Rosslyn, and also, in regard to Pelham, containing more of buckram (though disguised) than I conceive must have prevailed in their correspondence on former occasions, before the one had become the other's political heir.

Lords Pembroke and Bathurst (as Pelham told me) have declared their disapprobation of the Peace, and will not attend at the meeting of Parliament. I think Lord Bathurst's retirement¹ entirely from Parliament, and in a great degree from the society of his old friends, Pitt and his cronies, has proceeded from something more than the love of domestic retreat, to which it has generally been ascribed.

While I was with Pelham he received a copy of the heads of the intended speech, which, in consequence of the Duke of Portland's suggestions, he was going to forward in a letter to Lord Rosslyn. I found the brilliant *success of the last*

¹ Henry, third Earl Bathurst, who retired from the India Board in 1802, took office as Master of the Mint when Pitt returned to power in 1804, refused a place in the Ministry of All the Talents, was President of the Board of Trade under Portland and Perceval, Secretary of State for War under Liverpool, refused Canning's offer of the Home Office, and was Lord President in the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet.

campaign introduced, but not the epithets of "entire and cordial."

5 *p.m.*—Barnes has just seen a Christ Church man who tells him that Canning has been very lately to spend some days at Christ Church (where he was educated) and that his constant conversation has been an open abuse of the present Ministry and of the Peace.

Oct. 26, *Monday*, 12 *o'clock*.—At nine this morning I went through the ceremony of asking a play for Westminster School on the ground of its being the anniversary of the proclamation of the King.

Oct. 28, *Wednesday*, 4 *p.m.*—It seems there is to be no Cockpit to-night for reading the King's Speech, and it is understood that the custom is not to be revived.¹

Oct. 31, *Saturday*, 10 *a.m.*—Windham's speech² on Thursday was so like Burke, both in language and sentiments and in the manner of the delivery, as to strike everybody. I daresay it will be given correctly in the printed accounts, though I find from a circumstance Lord Sheffield told me yesterday, that Windham had failed in a precaution he had taken to secure an accurate account of it. It seems he had sent a person to the gallery to take it, but just before he rose, the gentleman growing impatient to have some tea, and, calculating that he should return in time for his business, went out and did not come back till Windham was just sitting down. Lord Sheffield had this anecdote from Adolphus³ who is writing the history of the present reign, and who was told it by the person himself. Some people say that Burke's ghost must have appeared to Windham, and taught him the speech he delivered.

Those who have so little taste, or so little candour, as not to feel or not to allow the genius and eloquence which distinguished Windham, and which were conspicuous in his speech on

¹ The Cockpit at Whitehall had been used for this purpose throughout the eighteenth century.

² Against the proposed peace with France.

³ John Adolphus, a barrister whose *History of England from 1760 to 1783* was published in 1802.

Thursday, say he has the “insanity without the inspiration of Burke.”

There was much dignity, much firmness, sufficient fluency, great discretion and great urbanity in Addington’s reply to Windham on Thursday. Though Pitt’s was a strong declaration in favour of the Peace, it seemed to admit that some of the details were liable to criticism.

Sheridan had two or three neat sentences—among the best when he said, “the peace was such as all men liked, and no man was proud of.” I believe every man who heard him agreed with him in his heart.

Yesterday Grey (who had come to town unexpectedly and was in the House on Thursday) expressed his general approbation of the Peace, though he reserved himself on the details and particularly as to the integrity of Portugal, concerning which and the effect of the Peace on the Methuen Treaty¹ he asked Lord Hawkesbury some questions, but without pressing for an answer. Lord Hawkesbury declined at that time giving any on the ground that it might lead to premature discussion. Next Tuesday is fixed for debating the preliminaries, and Friday for the Russian Convention.

Nov. 1, Sunday, 9 p.m.—I stayed from church to-day to finish the abstract of the treaties with France from the middle of the seventeenth century downwards, which Addington had requested me to prepare. I sent it him to-day before dinner together with a paper of general remarks applicable to the present Peace and on the necessity of a new commercial treaty, and I have written to him to desire he would see me on Wednesday morning.

I attended the Privy Council yesterday on the examination of Governor Wall, and some witness against him, who was charged about seventeen years ago with the murder of three soldiers at Goree in 1782, where he was commandant, by inflicting the punishment of flogging in so severe a manner that they died, without trial by any court martial. He had escaped

¹ A commercial treaty with Portugal, signed in 1703, which gave Portuguese wines a preference over French.

in 1784, and has lately returned to England in order to submit to trial.¹ The proceedings are under the statute of 33 Henry VIII cap. 21. He is to be brought up again to-morrow and will, I believe, be put on his trial. The Lords who attended were the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, Lord Pelham, Lord St. Vincent, myself, Mr. Steele and Mr. Charles Yorke.

Nov. 2, Monday, 8.30 a.m.—Last night I went to Lord Mendip's and afterwards to Lord Guilford's. Lord Mendip complained much, and was very deaf. There were there, besides Lady Mendip, Lord Bayning and Mrs. Rachael Lloyd. I find it is understood that Lord Cornwallis proposed himself for the embassy to Paris, which had been designed for Lord Whitworth. Lord Bayning says the road all the way from Calais to Paris is lined with cavalry dressed in the most sumptuous uniform. I think, from his way of mentioning this circumstance, that his relation considers it as flattering to him. His chains may be never so much decorated—I shall always think he goes in chains to grace the Consular triumph on the 9th. He is to go directly to Paris. Lord Bayning says Lord Cornwallis's equipages and liveries are uncommonly magnificent, and that he takes with him many rouleaux of guineas to scatter among the populace as a set-off to what was done by Lauriston here.² He takes with him Col. Littlehales and Mr. Moore, one of the doctor's sons who has been long in the Foreign Office and married Lady Eglinton after her divorce.

The doctor³ was lately complaining to Fish Craufurd that he had been very unlucky in the world. Craufurd, who has certainly not a flattering tongue, answered that he was not at all of that opinion, for that he had one son a general, another high as a captain in the navy, a third in a good situation in the Secretary of State's office, etc. The doctor replied, "Very

¹ He had been in England since 1797. He was tried, found guilty, and executed in 1802.

² Law of Lauriston, the financier.

³ John Moore, a physician of repute and the author of several novels and other books which were well thought of in their day. Three of his sons figure in the *D.N.B.*: Sir John, of Corunna fame, Admiral Sir Graham, and James (afterwards Carrick-Moore), a well-known surgeon.

true, they are clever and have succeeded accordingly, but I am cleverer than any of them, and have got nothing by it for myself."

Nov. 3, Tuesday, 2.30 p.m.—Lord Cornwallis set off yesterday early. Besides his secretaries, his son, Lord Broome, and son-in-law, Mr. Singleton, accompany him.

Yesterday morning I called on Lord Bayning. He agrees with me that Lord Cornwallis is much to blame in going to Paris to be present on the 9th. Yet the world say both the embassy and the journey were his own wish. The Duke of Portland said to Lord Bayning he thought it must be the most disagreeable situation to Lord Cornwallis he had ever been in. "I agree," said Lord Bayning, "but yet I think it much less mortifying than the Duke of Manchester's must have been in 1783." This was pretty home to the Duke of Portland.¹

Nov. 5, Thursday, 1.30 p.m.—There was no division on Tuesday. Lord Hawkesbury made a very able opening and apology, for it certainly was an apology. He divided his defence under three heads. The *time*, the *tone*, and the *terms*. As to the time, he said the best time to negotiate, even to make cessions, was during a course of victory and success, and that on this ground the same cessions and restorations could be better made now than under the dismay which prevailed when Lord Malmesbury went to Lisle. By the tone (which seemed an ill-chosen word) he meant the firmness and dignity with which he said we had negotiated. As to the terms we had secured Portugal and Egypt and in a degree Naples, though no longer an ally. In treating of the terms, he depreciated the Cape and Malta which we have surrendered, and exalted the value of Ceylon and Trinidad.

Pitt made a fine speech in support throughout, but not agreeing in the representation of Malta and the Cape, as to the latter of which he said he must give much weight to the opinion known to be entertained of it by Dundas. Tom Grenville in great detail and with much intelligence and temper, but in a bad

¹ In 1783, when Portland was Prime Minister, the fourth Duke of Manchester had been sent to Paris to negotiate the treaty which acknowledged the independence of the United States.

manner of speaking, arraigned the terms throughout, and some time after Lord Temple spoke on the same side. Lord Castle-reagh made a long speech justifying the whole transaction, without even the qualifications by Pitt. Pitt and Fox in their speeches complimented each other, and were not at all personally acrimonious. Fox approved of the tone of the terms, but as to the time he said it was many years too late, which however was the fault he said of the authors of the war, not of the authors of the Peace. He endeavoured to prove that the aggression was on our side.

Late in the night Windham rose to say that he thought the House must be so exhausted that he would not speak. Lawrence tried in vain to be suffered to speak, and sat down after many fruitless efforts of passion without saying anything. Addington closed the debate by an unnecessary speech (as on being asked I told him that I thought it would be) and which he did not deliver well. It was a hash of topics, already exhausted, delivered with hesitation and embarrassment, and an ineffectual attempt to take new ground. The most striking things he said were what came with weight from him as Minister, that the King's Government was determined after Peace was signed to hold no intercourse, and not to encourage or lend a hand directly or indirectly to the plans which the domestic or foreign enemies of the present French Government might form, and that another campaign must have added 40 million sterling to the debt, which being equal to a perpetuity of two million *per annum* was certainly much too high a price to pay for the Cape or Malta even if we were sure by another campaign to retain them.

He and Lord Hawkesbury positively declared that there was no prospect of *continental* aid or any third confederacy for the purpose of abridging the overgrown power and territories of France.

Yesterday Windham, Lawrence, and William Elliot spoke against the Peace. It was the first time Elliot ever spoke in public, and he did very well. Wilberforce, Hobhouse and Nichol, who now sits behind the Treasury Bench, spoke in support of the Peace, and Charles Yorke made a very good speech.

The House was extremely thin, but when it was about to rise, Addington stood up, and I trembled from the recollection of the night before. But he acquitted himself admirably. He expressed his regret that Windham had left the House, paid great compliments to his talents and honourable and upright intentions, but said that he had understood him to have declared that in his opinion we ought never to have treated, till the principles and morals of the French were changed. He said he should think no man fit to hold the situation in which he was placed who could entertain such a wild idea. But if he considered Mr. Windham's conduct as consistent with everything he had ever done or said in the course of the war, he could not say so of some others who had formed the Cabinet in 1797 and particularly of one ¹ who had been the official instrument of communication with Lord Malmesbury, and whose late conduct he thought very extraordinary.

Yesterday morning I was with Addington by appointment. He told me Lord Hawkesbury and the Cabinet did not think an immediate commercial negotiation expedient, but he repeated his determination that I should be the person employed to conduct when determined on. He said means were now taking, through the medium of persons in France, to induce that government to propose such an arrangement.

He then went into a good deal of confidential detail on the subject of the events of last winter. He said distinctly that he believed Lord Grenville had become disagreeable to the King and tired of his situation, that Dundas had also found himself in disfavour and in ill health and that he must quit, and that neither liking the thoughts of retiring alone, which would have the appearance of disgrace, they had contrived to fix Pitt on the Catholic question so as to pique his honour or his pride not to yield to the King. He says that the King, finding Pitt obstinate on the Thursday morning, after the conversation at the levee with Dundas (in consequence of which the meeting of Parliament was put off), had written to him desiring to see him at the Queen's House in half an hour. That he had gone immediately to Pitt

¹ Lord Grenville.

with the letter and that Pitt had said, "I know the King's business. It is to desire you to form a new Administration," and that Pitt had conjured him to undertake it, as the only means of preventing utter confusion. He then told me that Pitt had many opportunities of knowing the King's unalterable opinion on the Catholic question and particularly had in his possession a written declaration in the King's own hand on the subject of so old a date as 1796. He added that other causes besides those he had mentioned had contributed to produce the break up, and that for some time before it happened he believed there never had been a more divided Cabinet.

He says the King told him when he found his illness coming on; that he said to him he was sure he should be taken with it in half an hour. That so it happened; that during his illness he did not see him, but used to dine almost every day with the two Willises and Dr. Gisborne,¹ and go every morning and evening to the Queen and Princesses to contribute to keep up their spirits. That his own illness at last attacked him and confined him for a fortnight, reducing him so low that he had come to think it would be better for him if the scene were to close altogether. That during that time his wife was ill in another part of the house, and his three sisters who are married in town in despair about his situation. That the evening before being seized he found the fever coming on, and told the Queen and Princesses that they would not see him for some time.

He says when the King was at the worst, the elder Willis one day came to him with a wild and distracted countenance, such as he had never before worn. That he is in general steeled as it were by the scenes he has been used to. That on asking him why he looked so horrified, he said, "All is over. We have tried every means to no purpose, and there is no possibility of procuring the King any sleep." Robert Willis, the younger brother, of whose judgment he speaks very highly, was it seems in the ante-room. Addington desired he might come in. He asked him what he thought. His answer was, "All is over; sleep cannot be obtained." "What!" says Addington, "Do

¹ His physicians.

you mean his life in immediate danger ? ” “ Yes, in immediate danger. He has catchings, his pulse sinks and he has other alarming symptoms.” Addington says he then told them that his father¹ had been used to recommend with success a bag of hops used as a pillow, and that Mrs. Addington had found it procured sleep to her, and suggested them to try it with the King. They went to Mrs. Addington’s maid to learn the manner of making it, or I rather think to get the identical bag her mistress used, and they went and applied it. Addington in the meantime drove to Carlton House and apprised the Prince of his Majesty’s situation. He then proceeded to the Queen’s House, and the Duke of Cumberland soon came to him and said, “ Thank God, the King is asleep.” He slept at that time an hour and a half and from that day continued to mend. He says he has not liked often to mention the circumstance of the hops, which had been so much a subject of conversation, but that he was glad of the opportunity of telling it me exactly as it was.

In the same conversation he told me that the King had not conceived it possible that after he came into Pitt’s place they should continue friends, but that he had assured him that their intimacy and cordiality, though on several material points their opinions differed, never had been nor could be interrupted, and that he must entreat of his Majesty never to communicate anything to him that he should be unwilling Mr. Pitt should know.

He admitted clearly to me his persuasion that the Catholic question was but the pretext, and agreed with me in thinking it a most inexplicable thing that after it was known and confessed that there had been no pledge before, Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis should subsequent to their resignation pledge themselves so positively.

Nov. 7, Saturday, 3 p.m.—Wilson was told by Gibbs² the history of the conversation I saw the latter engaged so closely

¹ Addington’s father had been a physician : hence the nickname of “ the Doctor ” which was given to the Prime Minister himself.

² Vicary (afterwards Sir Vicary) Gibbs, Solicitor General from 1805 to 1806 and Chief Justice of Common Pleas from 1814 to 1818.

in with Dundas the Saturday evening after the dinner at Lord Macartney's, when I went from that dinner to Lord Loughborough's evening levee, and was informed by Dundas of the actual resignation of himself, Pitt, Grenville, etc. Gibbs it seems had scarcely any acquaintance with Dundas, having only met him once or twice at public dinners.

On coming into Lord Loughborough's and seeing Gibbs, he sat down by him and told him he had received a letter from Lord Seaford (Gibbs's brother-in-law), in which he told him that he had heard a report of an approaching change of Ministers and that he and Mr. Pitt were going out, that he hoped and supposed the report to be groundless, yet, as he had taken the Government he was going to only as connected with them, he should hesitate on proceeding to it, if they did not continue Ministers, and therefore requesting authentic information. Dundas then asked Gibbs if he had heard such a report. Gibbs answered he had but had given it no credit. Dundas said, "It is so well founded that we are actually out." "How has this happened?" says Gibbs. "It cannot be the Catholic question (as is foolishly given out)." "It is that very question." "Surely," says Gibbs, "the nonsense of the supposed effect of the Coronation oath can never have been seriously thought to apply to the King's legislative capacity." Dundas said it was so thought by the King, that he had frequently urged the matter with him, but that the King's answer was that it was not a point for Scotch metaphysics. Dundas, however, added that other causes had no doubt concurred, and that he believed those who had wrought on the King's mind had not meant that they should go so far. That the master of the house particularly (Lord Loughborough) had owned to him that if he had foreseen such a result he would not have done what he had done.

The freedom or rather indiscretion of this conversation of Dundas's to a person so slightly acquainted with him, astonished Gibbs extremely.

Nov. 13, Friday, 9.30 a.m.—On Monday forenoon Lord Sheffield went to Blackheath to wait on the Princess. He found her with Miss Hayman, who was just returned from Wales.

The Princess talked with great disapprobation of the Peace, very highly of Pitt, and very contemptuously of Addington. She told him that the King is very much dissatisfied with the Peace, and said, "When my child or grandchild shall read the terms of so disgraceful a peace and ask who was the Minister who made it, the answer will be it was not Addison. He was a man of great genius and talents, at an earlier period. It was a Mr. Addington, the son of a physician, who had obtained, by an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, the place of first Minister." Lord Sheffield asked her if she thought Mr. Pitt would again come into office. She shook her head, and said she believed never. She has been several times at Kew lately.

Miss Hayman told Lord Sheffield that before she left Wales she had received notice that she was no longer to have her apartment in the round tower at Blackheath, but must find herself a lodging in town. The Princess therefore will have no lady established in the house with her, an extraordinary and improper situation. It seems her annual expenses since her £8,000 were raised to £12,000 and the expenses of her table, etc., have been thrown upon her, have amounted to £16,000, and she is already in great embarrassment.

The newspapers being full of paragraphs stating that Jackson, who was Trevor's secretary at Turin, is to negotiate a commercial treaty at Paris, I went to Addington yesterday morning, and asked him what could give rise to such reports. He said they have no foundation, and that I ought to be sure of that after what he had undertaken to me, or to that purport.

Lord Sheffield met me as I was going to Addington's yesterday morning. He said he could tell me that Ryder had resigned and Bragge¹ was to have his place. I answered that I knew it a week ago. "But," says he, "I wish to consult you whether I would not do well to offer to execute Ryder's business at the Board of Trade. I might be of great service there." I answered, "I am already appointed, as you may have seen mentioned in

¹ Charles Bragge (afterwards Bragge-Bathurst), Addington's brother-in-law.

all the papers." "I never read the papers; but still do you think there would be any harm if I were to write to Pelham to say that if you had not been named I should have been willing to undertake that business?" Of course I said, "None earthly." I saw Addington and told him of Lord Sheffield's intention. He seems to have inherited his predecessor's impressions on the subject of Lord Sheffield.

I afterwards took occasion to call on Lord Pelham at his office and told him confidentially Addington's engagement to me in regard to a commercial treaty, the completion of which engagement he said he certainly should forward if it should fall in his way. I then told him what had passed between Lord Sheffield and me, on which he showed me a letter he had that moment received which he said was highly characteristic. Lord Sheffield there said, on the moment of his departure for Sheffield Place, he had just received intelligence of Ryder's resignation at the Board of Trade and wished Pelham to convey to Addington his readiness to serve in that situation. That he flattered himself he could be of considerable use, as there was not one member of the Board at present (this included not only me, but all the great Ministers of State and principal persons both of Great Britain and Ireland) who understood anything whatever of trade, navigation, agriculture or the state of the country, but while he was about to make this offer he said (and his appointment by the bye he knew would be extremely popular in the city and throughout the kingdom) Lord Glenbervie had just told him he was appointed.

Lord Pelham says he had yesterday at Addington's, where they met at dinner, urged him to desire Addington to give him his peerage immediately so that he might vacate his seat for Bristol¹ at the same time with Bragge, that he had some time before, under cover of showing him a letter on the subject from his son-in-law Stanley, pressed him to get him made an Irish earl previous to his English peerage, with the limitation of the

¹ Lord Sheffield, as an Irish peer, had been M.P. for Bristol since 1783. He received his English barony in July, 1802, and in 1816 was advanced in the Irish peerage as Earl of Sheffield. He is chiefly memorable as the friend of Gibbon and editor of his posthumous works.

earldom to his daughters and their male issue. In short Pelham says he sees no end of his pretensions, and that he counts what is done for him as nothing, or as less than what he is entitled to, and that he is sure when he gets his English peerage, he will impute it to Addington's sense of his merit, not to his (Pelham's) friendship.

On Sunday I dined and slept at the Speaker's. There is an idea current that he dislikes the office, that Lord Alvanley is unequal to the fatigue of his duty, that he may retire and the Speaker succeed him, and I have, by some, been again suggested for the Chair.

The newspapers took notice that on the morning of the day when the bargain was struck with the Exchequer billholders, Addington and Pitt were seen walking arm in arm in the Park. Addington yesterday told me of himself that Pitt had advised him to conclude on the terms which were agreed on. He consults him and the Governor of the Bank on all finance operations, and he would be highly culpable, in my opinion, if he did not.

Hiley Addington said yesterday he had heard nothing, but from me, of the Aberdeen seat (except a letter he had received on the first account of Allardyce's death from Sir William Scott recommending a Mr. Farquhar, a proctor, and brother-in-law to Allardyce, to succeed him), but he added that he considered it as certain that I should be the representative.

Nov. 15, Sunday, 9.30 p.m.—I made a very indifferent speech in the House on Friday, on the Russian Convention, but which had the merit of being short.

On Wednesday an order is to pass the King in Council appointing me President of the Committee for the affairs of Trade and Foreign Plantations, in the room of Ryder. It is a place of honour and considerable trouble, and of no emolument. Bragge succeeds him as Treasurer of the Navy, a place of much less business, but with a salary of £4,000 paid quarterly, without deduction, and a house. It is the general opinion that Addington acts imprudently in giving his brother-in-law, *per saltum*, such an office. Fawkeners says Bragge feels the advantage of having married a *Princess of the Blood*. It is also said Abbott is im-

mediately to have the reversion of Barry's place of Clerk of the Pells, that he bargained for it on his first coming into office. This will give still greater umbrage. Addington ought to have reserved those places for great birth or great talents, and have proceeded [with] more gradation in promoting his relations. It is true I believe he first offered Ryder's place to Charles Yorke, who says he refused it as being too large a salary for so young a statesman. Addington told me, as I have I believe mentioned before, that the King had desired that Bragge might have the place.

I went yesterday with Reeves to Lord Liverpool to look over the list of expiring laws and found him in a manner without the use of his legs, but looking tolerably well, and with his head perfectly clear, though incapable of long attention. He is quite happy with the accounts he receives from all quarters of the figure his son has made in the Peace and the Convention. He repeated to-day, what he said when I was with him in summer, that he thought it likely that Pitt would again come into office. He asked me if I thought Addington had acted prudently in making his brother-in-law Treasurer of the Navy. Lord Auckland had been to call on him about three weeks [ago], and said to him he supposed Pitt and Fox would get together. Lord Liverpool replied he was sure they never would. On which, as he says, Lord Auckland observed, "My Lord, you do not understand that matter so well as I do," and he answered, "I certainly do not, my Lord, *I have never in my life engaged or meddled in political intrigues.*"

Reeves went and came back with me. He says Lord Liverpool has told him that he was at first an extra clerk in old Lord Chatham's office when Secretary of State, and that when Lord Chatham wanted anything particular done he would often take it out of the clerk's hands to whom it would have fallen of course and desire that Jenkinson might do it. He had been known to the King and noticed by him before his connection with Lord Bute, for his brother was page to the King (as Prince of Wales, I believe) and used to attend him at his riding house, and Lord Liverpool would sometimes accompany his

brother, and that on those occasions the King used to discourse with him and conceived a kindness for him. He says the King had become disgusted with a sort of loftiness and huffy manner of Lord Bute's, and had not seen him from the year 1765. This is the account of Reeves as given him by Lord Liverpool.

Reeves told me also that Leck, Lord Liverpool's private secretary, who has been with him eighteen years and knows all the details of his affairs, says that from the beginning of that period Lord Liverpool has rather diminished his mode of living, but that his annual expenses then were only £5,000 and are now £8,000.

Wilson who dined here yesterday has heard from Henry Legge that the report in the Princess of Wales's neighbourhood is that she is four months going with child. That another story is that the Prince came drunk one night to Blackheath House, and the Princess having said that she was sorry she had no bed to offer him, that he answered, "I hope I may share yours," but that she positively refused, saying, "Your relinquishment of me has been public, and therefore your return to me must be made so before any connection of man and wife can be renewed between us."

Nov. 17, Tuesday, 8.30 p.m.—Yesterday I dined at Lord Pelham's. The company, beginning as they sat at table, on Lord Pelham's right hand: 1, Lord Dartmouth; 2, Monsieur Otto; 3, Lord Hervey (Under-Secretary in his brother-in-law's department); 4, myself; 5, Sir John Macpherson; 6, Mr. Corry; 7, Sir George Shee (Under-Secretary in Lord Pelham's office); 8, Colonel Calcroft; 9, Mr. Hammond (Under-Secretary also in Lord Hawkesbury's office); 10, Lord Fitz-Harris (who seems to act as under or private secretary to Lord Pelham); 11, Mr. Rufus King, the American Minister; 12, Lord Hawkesbury; 13, Lord Pelham.

Hammond, who was several years our Minister in America, says that King was universally considered as the best speaker in the Congress, and the ablest man in the country. He is about 45. I have often met him and had long ago formed a very advantageous opinion of him. Hammond, who had been

secretary with David Hartley when he went to Paris to settle the Commercial Treaty in 1783, and had frequent occasion of seeing and knowing Franklin, thought to obtain favour on his arrival in America by mentioning that circumstance. But he found that it was far from a popular topic. Franklin had died two or three years before, and his memory was universally detested. Adams, Jay, King, etc., hated him. He died very rich (a daughter to whom he left the bulk of his fortune and with whom he was said to have an incestuous intercourse, having acknowledged that she had inherited between £30,000 and £40,000 from him). He says he was reckoned in America cunning rather than able, and extremely corrupt. He had been a projector and encourager of the Stamp Act, and had himself received a salary or poundage for distributing stamps, and it is believed that he would have been equally active in promoting the Tea Act if it had been made his interest to do so.

Of the eight millions of livres which France gave to America, and which were to pass through Franklin's hands, only seven million were remitted. When he was written to about the remaining million he answered that he would communicate the despatch on the subject to Mr. de Vergennes and obtain an explanation from him. In some time after he stated the explanation given by Vergennes to have been *que c'étoit le secret de l'État*. But in America it was universally believed that Franklin and Vergennes had divided the million between them. These and many other things to the disadvantage of Franklin were told us by Hammond, but it must be considered that, as the English Minister, he most probably saw principally the Americans most attached to the interests of England, and that they would think that the abuse or depreciation of Franklin would be an agreeable topic to him. He says it is acknowledged that Franklin was much inferior in abilities to those joined with him at Paris, and particularly to Jay; that he was very vain, of which he had seen many instances. One day when at dinner with him, his French servant announced to him three Swiss gentlemen who had come all the way from Switzerland to see "*the venerable Franklin*." The old man immediately

smoothed back his grey locks and went out to them, and on his return said to Hammond, "Mr. Hammond, you have no idea how much trouble I have of this sort ; people come to me in this way at almost every hour." On another occasion as Hammond was airing with him in his coach a crowd gathered hallooing, "*C'est là le grand Franklin*," on which he immediately set himself forward in the carriage, and continued in that way, *en spectacle*, till they got home.

Otto conversed little, and seemed under more constraint than when I met him at Coutts Trotter's.

I believe I have not before mentioned in this journal that I was present at the Cockpit, being then studying the law at Lincoln's Inn, after my return from Paris, when Wedderburn pronounced his celebrated philippic against Franklin, on the occasion of the petition for the removal of Governor Hutchinson.¹ It was a finished and a bitter oration, and properly to be likened to some of Cicero's philippics against Anthony. Those are often thought to have cost Cicero his life, and that of Wedderburn has been considered by many as the immediate cause of the American Rebellion. During the speech he certainly stood as unmoved as a rock, and I have heard, in contradiction to the notion that he resented so unconquerably the acrimony of Wedderburn's declaration, that, on going out of the Council Chamber, he said to some of his friends that it was a most eloquent and masterly performance.

4.30 *p.m.*.—I have been to St. James's, where Bragge kissed hands and was afterwards sworn in a Privy Counsellor. I was at the same time by Order in Council appointed President, in the absence of Lord Liverpool, of the Committee for Trade, etc. It was made a doubt whether I was to kiss hands, and the Duke of Portland asked the King, who, after some reflection, said he thought I ought, as that was the only way of returning thanks for what was a mark of good opinion. I accordingly kissed hands in the Council immediately after the order was pronounced. The King said to me, "You will be of great use in that situation, as in every other in which you are placed."

¹ From the Government of Massachusetts Bay : in 1773.

Nov. 19, Thursday, 8.30 a.m.—Lally and Keene dined here. Lally has received through Otto a passport and a letter from Talleyrand, with leave to return to France, and he had heard that Malouet is joined in the commission which is to go out to St. Domingo. He told us several curious anecdotes of the commencement of the Revolution. One day Mirabeau had been proposing some violent and wicked measures to La Fayette, which La Fayette rejected with horror. “*Aha (said Mirabeau) vous voulez donc être Cromwell-Grandison, et vous croyez cela possible.*” Another time La Fayette, who used to have very exact intelligence, having discovered some secret plots of the other against himself, sent for him and told him, “You have been doing so and so and so,” exactly as the truth was. Mirabeau did not attempt any denial, but looking at him with an air of contempt said, “*Comment, vous êtes informé de tout cela, et vous m’avez laissé vivre ?*” After Mirabeau had been gained by the Court, La Fayette one morning had paid him 1000 louis d’ors as his price for carrying some great question in the Assembly. The question was carried and Mirabeau had the impudence, at the Hôtel de la Rochefoucault, in the evening, to say to a company there, “*Savez vous la nouvelle qu’on débite ? On dit que je me suis vendu à la Cour et même qu’on m’a compté 1000 louis pour mon discours d’aujourd’hui. Jugez comme les nouvellistes sont adroits et bien instruits.*” At that moment La Fayette came into the room and Mirabeau went on, “*Arrivez donc, M. de la Fayette, que je vous dise aussi à vous la grande nouvelle. On sait pour sûr que la cour m’a acheté, moi, et qu’on m’a même payé ce matin 1000 louis. Mais qui sait ? C’est peut être vous qui me les avez payés.*”

Nov. 20, Friday, 8 a.m.—It appeared by a letter from Mr. Farquhar to Hiley Addington yesterday that an arrangement has taken place between him and Scott for the Aberdeen seat with the concurrence of Dundas. This is strange, without any answer from Dundas or Scott to my two last letters, or any previous communication by Dundas with Addington.

The company at dinner yesterday, as they sat, were, beginning at my right hand : 1, Sir Sidney Smith ; 2, Sir Andrew Hamond ;

3, Mr. John Smyth; 4, Sir Walter Farquhar; 5, Mr. Sullivan; 6, Barnes; 7, Mr. Corry; 8, Sir John Douglas; 9, M. Freudenreich; 10, General De Meuron; 11, Lord Hobart; 12, Myself. Lady Glenbervie was unable to dine with us, having been confined to her sofa ever since Tuesday fortnight, with a severe bruise, occasioned by a fall.

Sir Sidney was an object of curiosity, and indeed of admiration, to us all. He is much less talkative, and much less of an egotist, since his defence of Acre. He confirms the veracity of Bruce and of Sonnini, as far as concerns lower Egypt, and in a degree also that of De Tott and Volney. He says he has brought over with him a person of the name of Hammer¹ who is an Austrian, educated at Vienna in the college of Maria Theresa, a great Orientalist, and who had been with him in Egypt, who is possessed of a very large Arabic MSS., supposed to be 1000 years old, containing an explanation of the principal hieroglyphic signs, as well as of the ancient Cufic character, and the progressive variations it underwent down to the time of the Saracen Conquest. He intends, by the advice of Sir Sidney, to deposit this curious MSS. in the oriental repository of the East India Company, but to publish a translation or extracts from it.

Sir Sidney told us of this on occasion of my having mentioned what I had heard at Sir Joseph Banks's in the morning, viz. that some of the French Academicians have brought over a stone containing a hieroglyphic inscription, and also on the other side of it both a Greek and an ancient Coptic translation and explanation, and stating that this explanation had been given by the Egyptian priests in gratitude for the protection afforded them by one of the Ptolomeys.²

Sir Sidney told us many particulars of the siege of Acre and the Egyptian campaigns. He had a high opinion of Desaix (killed at Marengo),³ who was his prisoner and guest for several

¹ Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, a very prolific orientalist.

² This was the famous Rosetta Stone, discovered in 1799 by an officer of Napoleon's army and now in the British Museum.

³ Louis Charles Antoine Desaix was, as Napoleon acknowledged, the hero of the battle, turning defeat into victory. He died at the head of his troops.

months. He affirms of his own knowledge that Buonaparte had five thousand natives massacred, at once, on the pretext of their having broken their parole, and gives credit to the report, told in Mr. Morris's pamphlet, of his having had from one to two hundred sick, whom he had no convenience to carry on with him, poisoned. He says he knows from good authority that Buonaparte had no knowledge of the intended Consular government when he left Egypt, that he merely expected to be put again at the head of the army in Italy; that Siéyès, when they first met, communicated to him his plan of placing the Duke of Orleans at the head of the Government. That Buonaparte desired him to give him the particulars of it in writing, which having obtained he told him he would co-operate in no such measure, and that, on the contrary, now he had put himself in his power, he should compel Siéyès to co-operate with him in placing himself at the head of a new government.

Lord St. Vincent has been ill for some time and is going to Brighton. If he does not soon recover, it is probable he must quit his situation, an event which will give an opportunity for various new arrangements.

Nov. 21, Saturday, 8.30 p.m.—Dundas has espoused Mr. Farquhar as the candidate for the Aberdeen district, and Government are to give him their support. In my intercourse with the two Addingtons I have seen that the management of Scotland is left entirely to Dundas and his two nephews, and that Lord Pelham is left entirely out of it. From him I know that he is far from understanding that it should continue so.

Nov. 23, 9 a.m.—Lord Minto called here last night when I was out, and left word that he had arrived in the course of the day. I had been to call on Lord Guilford. He says there are two reports concerning me. One that I am to be Chancellor of the Duchy, another that makes me Speaker. Neither are disagreeable, though if I were to be offered the choice I should much prefer the latter.

Nov. 24, Tuesday, 9 a.m.—Yesterday in the House of Commons I mentioned to Lord Hawkesbury that Addington had informed me that he *approved* of my being employed to

negotiate any commercial treaty that may take place. When Addington gave me leave to mention this to him, he begged that I would use that expression, "That Lord Hawkesbury had *approved* of me as the negotiator."

A few days ago Sir Joseph Banks showed me a letter he had received from Count Rumford at Paris. He is received there by the men of science in a very flattering manner and has met with great civilities from Buonaparte at an assembly of the Institut where he assisted. Buonaparte was present and sat within one of Rumford, and he showed him by what he said that he was well acquainted with his pursuits and discoveries. Volta read a paper relative to what is called the galvanic pile, and tracing the phenomena of galvanism to electricity, and when he had finished Buonaparte rose and in a discourse which Rumford says was very *eloquent* proposed that a golden medal should be given to Volta and that he should be invited to continue his experiments. Rumford was afterwards invited to dine with the First Consul and was, except some of the former Ministers, the only stranger of the party.

Sir Joseph Banks says the experiments and propositions drawn from them, for which Volta received the medal, have been made and published in this country more than a year ago.

Yesterday I said a few words in the House on a bill relative to badges for the poor.

Nov. 25, 9 a.m.—I find the report that I am to be Speaker is current in the city and generally throughout London.

On Monday a paragraph in the same words appeared in all the morning papers, giving that situation to Foster, and this concurrence, joined to a favourite opinion and wish I know there is among many of the Irish, leads me to believe that the paragraphs were inserted by some of them. I should think it very unwise in the present circumstances to deliver over the business of the House into his hands.

Nov. 27, Friday. 9 a.m.—The night before last, on the debate on Sir William Pulteney's motion for a committee of enquiry concerning the private trade and India built shipping, I made an unintended speech and of some length, in answer to

Mr. Tierney, which was well received by the House, and dissatisfied myself less than on many former occasions. It was very tolerably stated in the *Morning Chronicle* and very ill in all the other papers.

Yesterday morning Lord Minto breakfasted with me, and he is to dine here to-day. He had dined with Lord Pelham the day he arrived and has been since at Windsor to deliver a letter from the Princess of Würtemberg to the King, and at Park Place. He came by Strasburg and Paris, at which place he stayed only three days, which he employed chiefly in seeing the town and the spectacles. He did not see Buonaparte, but having been told that he ought to wait upon Talleyrand to thank him for his passport, he paid him a visit. He received him, he says, with an affected formality and reserve, and after a short conversation on mere common subjects of weather, plays, etc., Lord Minto said he was encroaching on his time (which he did not contradict) and came away. Just as he was leaving the room, he asked him after a very pleasing woman in whose company he had last had the honour of seeing him, Mme. de Flahault.¹ Talleyrand answered, coldly, "She is in Paris, but you will find her much altered; she is grown very large." Lord Minto heard afterwards that they are not on good terms. He has another favourite. Talleyrand had on a costume of office, scarlet, with a great deal of embroidery.

Lord Minto says the Comedie Française (which it is still generally called) continues to be an admirable spectacle. He saw the first night of a new comedy called *Les Mœurs du Jour*, which he thought very good and very well acted. It is a satire on the Revolution.

He says he never was called anything but Monsieur, not *citoyen*, nor did he hear any Frenchman call another so, during the whole of his journey. He dined with Lord Cornwallis, who seemed to think the definitive treaty would be soon concluded.

¹ Adélaïde Marie Émilie Filleul, who married, first, the Comte de Flahault, with whom she was not happy and who died on the scaffold; and secondly the Marquis de Souza-Botelho. She was a novelist, whose first book, *Adèle de Senanges*, published in London, is perhaps the best remembered. As Mme. de Souza she figures later in these journals.

I thought Lord Minto disinclined to enter on domestic politics, and therefore fear he means to take the adverse side.

Nov. 30, Monday, 11.30 a.m.—Singleton mentions that on the occasion of one of our great ministerial dinners given to Lord Cornwallis at Paris, Talleyrand called on him to [? by] apologise for not being able to go to it, and the reason he gave was that he was to be of a party to dine at *such a restaurateur's*, in order to say, *jusqu' où la cuisine française pourroit être poussée*.

I sent yesterday to Mr. Addington a paper of reasons tending to show the expediency or rather necessity of a new commercial treaty with France.

Dec. 5, Saturday, 11 a.m.—On Wednesday I went with Lord Minto by invitation to dine with the Princess of Wales at Blackheath. We had a very small party, only ourselves, Windham, Lord Lewisham and Miss Garth and Miss Hayman. The Princess was out of spirits and very coldly civil to Lord Minto. He told me going there that he had perceived this on his first visit a few days before. He had promised to write to her and had neglected it, and besides he had learned that she has fallen entirely into the hands of Frere and Mr. and Mrs. Canning. She was also very dry and reserved to her two ladies, particularly Miss Hayman.

Dec. 7, Monday, 8 a.m., Addiscombe Place.—Sir Stephen Cotterell and I came here to dinner yesterday and found Lord Liverpool pretty much as when I last saw him about three weeks ago. Our company here consisted of Lord Maynard,¹ a strange character, nephew to Lady Liverpool and the husband of the late Nancy Parsons, or Mrs. Haughton, who after being the common spouse of all the town was first the mistress of the Duke of Grafton, when First Lord of the Treasury, afterwards travelled over Europe with the Duke of Dorset, then married Lord Maynard, and again travelled and resided for a year or two, I believe, with the Duke of Bedford at an age to be his mother at least. She had taken the name of Haughton from a West Indian who had found her in a brothel and carried her

¹ Charles Maynard, second Viscount Maynard of Easton Lodge.

to Jamaica, and was said to have married [her].¹ She preceded Lady Hamilton in the favour of the Queen of Naples. Those who have known her in her different situations say she never was very handsome, and never had much vivacity nor resources in conversation, and she was not a person of reading or talents. Yet she had the power of attracting men to her in a wonderful degree, especially very young men, and when she was grown old, which I have heard accounted for from a peculiar art she possessed of seeming to take an affectionate interest in them, and their concerns and pursuits, and forgetting her own, listening with complacency, and making them appear important in their own eyes, and particularly the only object of her thoughts and attention. I have heard besides that she possessed also some peculiar merits in the exercise of those endearments in which she had had so much practice. What brought her first into vogue at Naples was the accident of being able to furnish a quantity of James's Powder at a time when a dangerous fever prevailed which that medicine entirely removed. She was then passing the winter there with her husband Lord Maynard. She had before resided there for a considerable time with the Duke of Dorset. She used to do the honours of the Duke of Grafton's table, I think, even on days of ceremony. I remember she was in the zenith of her empire with him in the year 1769 when I returned from Vienna. Some months afterwards he parted with her and married his present wife. I have heard that she would tell some of her intimate friends that in the early part of her life she had once earned, in single guineas, one hundred in one day. Whether she left off *lassata* or *satiata* I know not.

After tea Lord Liverpool retired with me to his library, and, as usual, indulged a good deal in political speculations and narrative, both with respect to the past and present times.

He continues to laugh at the Catholic question as the motive of Pitt's resignation, and is persuaded his reasons were that he found it impracticable to carry on the war and impracticable

¹ According to the *D.N.B.*, she "was the daughter of a tailor in Bond Street and she lived first with Hoghton or Horton, a West-India-captive merchant, with whom she went to Jamaica, but from whom she fled to England."

for that Ministry to make peace, and that besides he was heartily tired of his cousin Lord Grenville and wished to get rid of him. He added plainly, that he had selected for two of the principal persons of a new government two on whom he knew he could entirely depend—Addington, with whom he had been brought up, and Lord Hawkesbury, whom he had attached by every mark of kindness and regard, and long habits of intimate intercourse.

He says Lord Hawkesbury consulted Pitt throughout on the Russian Convention and the preliminaries with France; that when the plan of the Convention came over from Lord St. Helens, Lord Hawkesbury sent it, by the advice of Pitt, to Dropmore, and that Lord Grenville returned it with many remarks and objections, some of them solid, others frivolous and captious or literal. The first were adopted. As to the others Pitt advised Lord Hawkesbury to throw them into the fire and not to take any further notice of them, for that it would be a fruitless endeavour to attempt to persuade Lord Grenville to relinquish them. Pitt afterwards advised him not to send the preliminaries to Lord Grenville while they were settling. This, according to Lord Liverpool, he has never forgiven, and when they were signed he wrote to Pitt, to Dundas, to Lord Spencer, to Lord Mulgrave, and, as he has reason to believe, to many others, and particularly to Horsley, Bishop of Rochester, to induce them to attend and support by opposition to the address of approbation. Pitt it seems answered in a manner consonant to the support he afterwards gave, and from that time he believes they have very seldom met. Dundas has compromised, Pitt having undertaken to speak favourably of the opinion he had entertained of the importance of the Cape. Lord Liverpool considers it as having been of importance to Pitt's views in forming the new Ministry that Lord St. Vincent, Lord Cornwallis and Lord Nelson thought peace necessary.

He says he has seen two plans of Pitt's, one for a peace, which rather than lose he advised greater concessions than have been made, another for the continuance of the war, if peace could not be made, a part of which last plan was "that the income tax should be doubled." Lord Liverpool agreed with me that

he could not have carried that measure, the present income tax being the sorest burden ever felt in this country. He thinks that if Addington can execute three measures, a completion of the Peace, payment of the debts on the Civil List and a commutation of the income tax, he may remain Minister as long as he pleases, that he has better abilities than Mr. Pelham had, and the advantage of an obliging temper and style of debate. He says he understands Pitt lives with Lord Carrington, Lord Camden, the Longs, etc. ; that he dines about once a fortnight with Lord Hawkesbury, and he supposes often sees Addington. He is quite of my opinion as to the personal acrimony and sarcasm which belongs to Pitt's eloquence and has created much individual animosity against him.

He told me he was first introduced to Lord Bute by George Grenville, whom he used to visit in Buckinghamshire while he was a student at Oxford ; that Grenville was a sensible man but of a dull and obstinate understanding, as obstinate but much less able and less informed than his son ; that what knowledge he had he did not derive from reading but by disputation with persons of knowledge on the subjects on which he wished to inform himself ; that he used to waylay him in order to dispute with him, when he never yielded, but would next day adopt his opinion, and call it his own. Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham) used to laugh at him and employ his wit upon him, which he says was very great. They at last came to hate one another, and Pitt drew off Lord Temple from Grenville. Lord Temple had no sense but was a great talker, and affected to govern his two brothers as this Lord Buckingham will govern his brothers ; that Pitt made him believe he was led by him, while he was making him do whatever they pleased. Lord Temple and George Grenville used to have furious disputes, at which he was often present, at their family dinners.

When Grenville was Treasurer of the Navy they lived in —[sic] Square. It was his habit to stay in the House of Commons talking with the last man in it, so that all the rest of his company would be come from the House to dinner with an account of its being up long before he arrived, on which occasions

Mrs. Grenville would say, "The last dull melancholy coach which we hear dragging on we may be sure is Mr. Grenville's, and then you may ring for dinner."

Dec. 16, Wednesday, 12.30 p.m.—On Sunday last while Lady Glenbervie was at church and I was busy in great *deshabillé* in my library, the Princess of Wales accompanied by Mrs. Lisle (sister to Lord Cholmondeley and one of her ladies) came to the Park door of the garden and insisted on coming in. The servants said we were both out. She met Fred and bid him tell me that two old women wanted him. Before I could go to her in the drawing room Lady Glenbervie had come in.

She was extremely affable, and looked particularly handsome, though it was a very trying day, being a hard frost, and she came in an open carriage. But she was wrapt up in eiderdown great coats and furs. She stayed to eat a hearty meal at 2 o'clock, though she calls it only a *gouter*.

Dec. 20, Sunday, 9 a.m.—On Wednesday it was believed by the Ministers that the alarming insubordinations which had broken forth on board the *Temeraire* at Bearhaven (and of which symptoms it seems had shown themselves not only in other vessels of that squadron, but also in the Channel Fleet) had been satisfactorily suppressed by the spirit and good conduct of the officers, aided by the Marines. At first a groundless report had been circulated that the Marines were concerned in the mutiny, but the fact appears to have been the reverse, and this is the second most important service of the same sort which that valuable corps have rendered to their country. It is to be hoped this second occasion will stimulate Government to put that service on a more respectable and advantageous footing, by increasing the number of field officers, etc. I had some conversation on this subject yesterday with Charles Yorke and Hiley Addington, who are both strongly impressed with the expediency and justice of such a measure. Yorke indeed says that Lord St. Vincent wishes to abolish the distinction of the two services, so that all the army may be Marines as occasion may require, but to this there seem to be insuperable objections, and hitherto the Duke of York has been hostile to the other plan.

George Wilson called on Lady Glenbervie and told her a very singular anecdote which he had from Mrs. Trail. Some time ago, a person wrapt up in a sort of disguise and preserving the strictest incognito went on board a vessel from Portsmouth to Falmouth and there, under the same concealment, embarked in the packet for Lisbon. The Royal Family having heard of this mysterious circumstance sent Miss Planta to Mrs. Trail to enquire if she knew anything of it, and to desire her to approach Mr. Trail, suspecting that it might be Lady Augusta Murray or some emissary from her. The packet and the unknown passenger having arrived in the port of Lisbon, notice was immediately sent to the Prince, who was at the house of the lady to whom he is so much attached, and from whence he immediately returned home in the greatest agitation, and called up Graves and Trail, who were both in bed. He said if the person proved to be Lady Augusta, his resolution was taken to set out instantly for Madrid ; but it was resolved that Trail should repair to the packet and explore the truth of the business. Trail accordingly went, and found there the Lieutenant de Police, who at the request of the Prince's Lisbon friend had gone before him on the same errand, but who immediately informed him that the supposed lady was an infirm, old, paralytic and nervous man of the name of Wilkinson who had come to try the effect of the climate, and from a sort of timidity or caprice had adopted the sort of incognito I have described.

It appears by Trail's letters that Prince Augustus is determined never to live any more with the Lady Augusta, and to disavow her as his wife. He means to breed his son by her a Catholic, in the prospect of some great match and establishment in Portugal, and Trail has some grounds for believing that he himself means to change his religion, if he has not already done it, and of this suspicion Trail has thought it his duty to inform Admiral Payne.

Dec. 27, Sunday, 9 a.m.—On Monday last Addington again moved to adjourn, only to that day sennight. He gave no reason, and a long adjournment was expected. But I gathered from a conversation I had with him on Friday morning, that it is thought necessary to keep Parliament sitting, from the state

of the mutinous ships, as a law may be necessary, and is in contemplation if necessary, to deprive the mutineers of their arrears of pay, of their right to Greenwich Hospital and to certificates for the merchant service. He also said that the negotiations might take such a turn as to render it necessary to make a communication or some application to Parliament, though he added that he had no reason to apprehend any such thing.

Yesterday Lord Bayning sat an hour with me, and we had, as usual, a great deal of political and other gossip. He tells me the report is very current that Arden (Lord Alvanley) is to be Chancellor of the Duchy, Mitford, Chief Justice, and me, Speaker. He thinks I am the only person in contemplation, but that he had heard it doubted if I would accept it. He thinks it would be a most desirable thing for me, as it [would] establish my family and secure a peerage.¹ I told him that I have heard that the salary, even with the house free, is not adequate to the expense, which he, who is so rigid an economist, seemed to wonder at. But I did not conceal my wish for the office, and told him I thought it must lead to a provision for my boy.

People moot the question how far I as an Irish peer could be Speaker, and how I should be addressed. 1, Every member must be competent to the chair of the House, as of a committee. 2, As to the other question I should think the proper style in the House would be Mr. Speaker.

Lord Bayning told me the following anecdote. Sir George Yonge, while he was courting Lady Yonge, who was the heiress of a rich pewterer, was dining one day with Charles Townshend. Sir George having called for some porter, Charles Townshend said to the servant, "Give Sir George his porter in the pewter pot; I fancy he will relish it best in that way."

Sir George Yonge was in the same form at Eton with the late Lord Guilford and used frequently to get above him. It seems he was a quick boy and Lord Guilford, though confessedly much more clever, was often careless and absent. Lord Guilford however was, in general, at the head of his form.

¹ *i.e.* an English peerage, which Glenbervie, like Sheffield, coveted but, unlike him, did not receive.

I find the King has been as busy and anxious on the late occasion of the appointment of Dr. Goodall,¹ the second master of Eton, and a man of high reputation as a teacher, to succeed Heath (who has suffered the discipline of the school to go to ruin) as he could be in forming a new Ministry. He is a great partisan of Eton and said on the above occasion to Lord Onslow, who is a keen Westminster, "You Westminsters must now look to yourselves or we shall get ahead of you very soon."

Dec. 29, Tuesday, 9 a.m.—As I left the House yesterday Sir John Macpherson joined me, and after a preamble full of panegyric on Addington's speech, and a preface to ascribe the Peace and all the measures of this Administration to the conciliating system which he had carried out to India² and which he had explained in his two printed letters to a Noble Lord (viz. Lord Guilford) (this being his madness), he proceeded to say that he looked upon me now as the only active representative of his old friend and patron, and that he wished therefore to communicate to me that circumstances had happened within a day or two which rendered the final conclusion of a permanent peace more certain than ever: that from the state of politics and parties here, the French had always feared that a change of Ministers by the death of the King or otherwise might take place and persons be employed by the Prince who might overturn Addington's pacific system; that on Saturday last he had carried Otto to the Prince of Wales, and they had had an interview in his presence and Admiral Payne's; that he (Sir John) had taken out of his pocket Buonaparte's peace-sort of manifesto; that the Prince had read it and observed upon it in a manner which proved highly satisfactory to Otto, and in short that his Royal Highness had assured Otto that he and all his friends were firm friends to Addington's Administration and system, and to the terms and principles of the Peace; that after an interview of two hours Otto had come away in raptures with the Prince;

¹ Dr. Joseph Goodall was appointed headmaster of Eton in 1801 and provost in 1809. He lived until 1840.

² Macpherson had succeeded Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India in February, 1785, and had been superseded by Lord Cornwallis in September, 1786.

that he and Mrs. Otto had gone that day to dine and sleep at Lord Hawkesbury's at Putney Common, and had dined with Sir John the day after, when Otto expressed the same satisfaction at his reception from Lord Hawkesbury. He said the account of Otto's interview with the Prince would have the greatest effect with the French Government and remove several slight obstacles which had occurred; that Addington was not yet informed of this interview nor did he know another important fact in regard to the permanency of peace, viz. that the succession to Buonaparte, in case of his death, is entirely settled.

In course of what he said, he told me that he had been the person who first brought Addington and Otto together in a house in Great George Street.

He also said that all the time he was abroad he had by correspondence kept the Prince informed of the plans and sentiments of the continental powers. He is certainly almost mad, but I believe the matters of fact he told me.

Yesterday I dined at Sir Andrew Hamond's;¹ the company, Sir Andrew, Lady and Miss Hamond, the Chancellor, Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Scott (the Chancellor's son), Sir W. Bellingham and myself. Pitt looks full and in good health but flat in spirits. We were very cordial together. The Chancellor was full of Sheridan's interludes in Lincoln's Inn Hall, and seemed nervous about it.

He told me the Duchess of Gordon last winter said to Sir William Scott, "If you were to do anything wrong with a married lady there would be nobody to try you," to which he replied, "Madam, I have taken great advantage of that circumstance in my time."

¹ Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, who fought at Quiberon Bay in 1759, was knighted for his services in the American War, was Governor of Nova Scotia from 1780 to 1782, created a baronet in 1783 and comptroller of the Navy from 1794 to 1806. He died in 1828, at the age of ninety.

Jan. 2, Saturday, 9 a.m.—I dined and slept at Addiscombe Place on Tuesday last. Lord Liverpool, after rising from his couch with the help of a servant, was able to walk up and down his room without help. He reluctantly attended to the business of the Board of Trade, which I abridged as much as I could, and seemed fatigued with it, but before and after our discussion of that sort he entered with his usual spirits on general and court politics, both of ancient and recent date. He told me part of the history of his acquisition of the clerkship of the Pells from Charles Fox. He was a joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Flood, who had been gained over to Government, was to have that situation. Lord North was unwilling that he (Jenkinson) should have the clerkship of the Pells, and offered it first to Lord Clare (then Lord Nugent) and then to Welbore Ellis, who both refused it. Flood had killed Mr. Agar, a near relation of Mr. Ellis's, in a duel.¹ Lord Liverpool says Ellis, though he would not take the Pells himself to make way for Flood, was unwilling that anybody else should; that he invited him (Jenkinson) to pass two or three days at Pope's, where he endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to discover whether he was to have the place if he refused it. At last Lord North was under the necessity of giving it to Lord Liverpool.

The report that I am to be Speaker is still, it seems, current. When talking on this subject last night with Lady Glenbervie and Sir Walter Farquhar, Lord Guilford mentioned a famous

¹ The quarrel between Henry Flood and James Agar of Ringwood arose out of an election contest. Two duels were fought, in the second of which (September, 1769) Agar was mortally wounded.

story of Sir Fletcher Norton when Speaker.¹ There was at that time in the House an old gentleman of the name of Mr. Anne Pawlet, very singular in his dress and appearance and it seems a very tedious speaker. On several occasions in the course of a long debate and after the House was tired, Mr. Pawlet offered himself, as the phrase is, to their attention. A universal call for the question immediately ensued. He persisted, and at last Sir Fletcher said, "I hope the House will indulge this gentleman; he will not be long." This affronted Mr. Pawlet who, addressing himself to the Chair, claimed a right to speak at whatever length he pleased. On this the Speaker, throwing himself back in the Chair, as in despair, exclaimed, with his hollow base voice, "O! the gentleman says he *will be long*." This was delivering Pawlet over to the irresistible effect of "Question, question," to which he found himself forced to give way.

Fawkener says there is a report that Lord St. Vincent and Addington have disagreed, and that the former insists that the Minister shall not interfere, in any respect, in his department. There are various reports about the state of Lord St. Vincent's health. I believe it to be very bad, and I do not see who can replace him.

Jan. 5, Tuesday, 9.30 a.m.—The Abbé Delille is to dine with us next Friday, and I have asked the Chevalier de Viella and Mr. Fawkener to meet him.

He is now occupied, I understand, in translating the *Paradise Lost*, the *Æneid*, and the *Jerusalem*, and in publishing (at Paris) *La Terreur et la Pitié*, an extract from his famous work, *Le Génie* or *L'Imagination*. He is almost quite blind. His translation of Milton is undertaken under a contract (I have heard for £1,200 for the first impression of a given number of copies) with a society of *merchants*. It is printing or to be printed at Paris. There lives with the Abbé Delille a fat, coarse woman, a sort of housekeeper or mistress, whom he calls his niece, who

¹From 1770 to 1780. He had been Attorney-General, and was created Lord Grantley of Markenfield. A frequent subject of satire and caricature, he was attacked by Junius.

serves him as a guide, and who, as I have understood, rules him with a most despotic authority. It seems she insists on his completing a fixed number of lines of his translation of Milton every night before he goes to bed, and will not let him off on any occasion, however indisposed or tired, till his task is finished. This I learned from Viella, who was told it by a Chevalier O'Gorman, a Frenchman of Irish extraction, who is a good scholar and poet himself and assists the Abbé, partly as an amanuensis, partly in explaining to him some of Milton, which it seems he often mistakes.

Yesterday Addington moved to adjourn the House of Commons till Thursday se'nnight.

Jan. 8, Friday, 9 p.m.—By to-day's post I received from Major West a letter dated the 3rd inst., informing me that my dear and only sister died that forenoon. I yesterday heard that her complaint though very severe was not dangerous, by a letter from Maria, but it was dated so long ago as Christmas Day. If ever true Christian piety and virtue and the most genuine goodness of heart and tenderness of affection met in as great degree in any body as in her sister-in-law, it was in my beloved Kate Douglas, for so she was called in our early days. She was twelve months older than me. Yet the tradition in the family was that she learned to speak after me. We lost our mother when she was four and I three years old. My father married again when she was eleven, and I believe very much on her account, as my mother-in-law was a woman of good character and understanding and of good family, but without fortune or beauty and aged forty, which was his own age. He died in 1762 when we were eighteen and nineteen, and he but forty-eight, and the year after (1763) my sister married Major, then Captain, Mercer.¹ Till I was eight years old I never was a day asunder from my sister. We were then each sent to school for two years, till my father married in 1754. From that time

¹ James Mercer, who fought with distinction at Minden and, after selling out of the army, became a major in the Gordon Fencibles. He published a volume of *Lyric Poems* in 1797; of which a new edition appeared after his death with a preface by his brother-in-law Glenbervie. He died in 1804.

she was my constant companion, and in a great degree my only intimate friend till 1762, when my father died. From that time till autumn 1765 we passed the summer always together. The three winters I spent at Edinburgh. In the end of 1765 I separated from her to come to London, and from thence travelled into Holland, France, Italy, Germany and Hungary, and I never saw her but on five occasions afterwards.

My sister, who had not been a handsome child, was when she grew up a perfect beauty, and though very tall had a delicate feminine appearance indicating her character and disposition. She had beautiful soft but expressive eyes, fine nut-brown hair, very white teeth, but which soon failed, was well-made, though her feet and hands were rather too large. She had a voice exquisitely sweet and a fine ear, but was never taught music. She also danced extremely well. She had great spirits in her youth, and an over-flowing good nature and good temper, but she had a nervous constitution, and after her first child (having I believe suffered from the ignorance of her midwife) she scarcely ever enjoyed a week of good health. For the last ten years she had been almost quite lame and generally confined to her chamber, often to her bed, suffering often severe pain from a sort of gouty rheumatism in her limbs. But her most severe suffering was from the errors and misfortunes of her elder daughter.

If the good who suffer in body and mind upon earth find their compensation in Heaven, my dear sister is now receiving her consolation and reward.

I am unhappy to think that I have not taken occasion to see her oftener, and that she never saw my wife nor my son. To poor Mercer the loss is dreadful.

Jan. 16, Saturday, 8 p.m.—The frost has been intensely severe for the last fortnight, and still continues.

George Wilson dined here on Wednesday last. He has heard from Romilly, who is in correspondence with Dumont (now at Paris with Lord —— [*sic*] Petty), the following severe, though no doubt unintended, rap on the fingers given by Buonaparte to Talleyrand. Livingston, the new American

Minister, being presented by the latter to the First Consul, he said to him, "*Monsieur, vous arrivez d'un autre monde, et vous arrivez dans un monde bien corrompu.*" Livingston it seems understands very little French, and Buonaparte, having repeated the same phrase to him two or three times and perceiving still that he did not comprehend him, turned to Talleyrand and said, "*Monsieur Talleyrand, vous entendez très bien l'Anglais, ayez la bonté d'expliquer à Monsieur ce que je viens de lui dire.*" What a text for the Bishop of Autun to explain to an American Minister.

Wilson was in a vein of anecdotes. He had dined a few days before at the Master of the Rolls' (Grant) with Mansfield, who told them that in the autumn of 1780, when a dissolution of Parliament was expected, he was like many others anxious to discover the real intention of Government that he might take his measures at Cambridge. He happened to go to Lord North (whose contemporary he had been at Eton) to endeavour to learn from him on the very day when Robinson, Sir Grey Cooper¹ and others were met to examine their lists and decide whether the time was convenient for the dissolution. Mansfield asked Lord North if he might without indiscretion beg to know the intention of Government; on which Lord North said, "I really cannot say more than this, that the doctors are now met in consultation on the case in the other room, and you know the result on such occasions is generally death."

Mansfield told them another anecdote of Lord Hardwicke and Sir Robert Walpole. Lord Hardwicke being Chief Justice, on Lord Talbot's death Sir Robert offered him the Great Seal. Lord Hardwicke, though desirous of the office affected to hesitate for some time for the sake of driving a bargain, to the great inconvenience of Sir Robert's arrangements. At last Sir Robert went to him one day and said, "My Lord, I find it is in vain to hope that you will take the Seal, but that being the so [*sic*], I wish to know who in the profession you would approve of. I hear much of Mr Fazakerly's abilities and learning and have had thoughts of proposing him to the King. What say

¹ At that time Secretary of the Treasury.

you ? ” Fazakerly was a notorious Jacobite and in every respect disagreeable to Lord Hardwicke, who immediately relieved Sir Robert from his difficulty in the manner he wished and expected, by accepting the Seal without conditions.

Caffrara [?], now at Paris, said he had heard of the two Consuls in Ancient Rome and had seen now the three Consuls of France, and that he perceived that though there are three Consuls, the First Consul, the second Consul and the third, yet there are not three Consuls, but only one Consul, viz. Buonaparte.

Lord Liverpool came to town on Monday, and I saw him to-day and think him better.

He told me, confidentially, that the mutiny had been foreseen for more than six months, that meetings and consultations had been going on in the guard rooms of the ships, that, before the Peace, the motives were long service, severe discipline not judiciously enforced, and that many of the sailors had got money and wished to retire to their homes and their families. He added, “ *that the state of the Fleet had been one of the motives for concluding the Peace.* ” This struck me much.

He cannot form a conjecture about the real motives for the strange consulta and journey of Buonaparte to Lyons, but he says it appears by Jackson’s private correspondence that Paris is still in a very ticklish state. Fouché said to Jackson,¹ whom he had hardly seen twice, “ *On est las de revolutions dans ce pays-ci. On n’en veut plus—pas même ceux qui souhaiteroient le rapel des Bourbons, ce qui ne pourroit se faire que par une revolution. Et si Bonaparte vouloit se faire Roi, lui-même et quelqu’un de ses parties il seroit poignardé dans les 24 heures.* ”

Jan. 20, Wednesday, 9 a.m.—Mr. Williams dined here yesterday and told us several interesting anecdotes of former times. Charles, Earl of Halifax,² great-grandfather to the late Lord Guilford, was the “ Bufo puffed by every quill,” in Pope’s

¹ Francis James Jackson, who had been sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to France in 1801. He filled various important diplomatic posts.

² Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax (1661-1715), who proved himself during the reign of William III a finance minister of outstanding ability. He wrote mediocre verse, but was a genuine, if pompous, patron of literature.

Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot. It seems Pope (like other wits and poets) had been advised to read his works to him for his approbation or corrections. He accordingly went one day, accompanied by Dr. Garth,¹ and read to him some hundred lines he had lately finished of his *Iliad*. While he was reading, Lord Halifax at intervals would stop him and say, "Mr. Pope, I beg your pardon, you are certainly a much better judge than me, but I do not quite understand such a line. Read it again. (This was done.) Well, I protest I do not quite understand it. Surely it is very obscure. I submit to you whether you had not better re-cast that passage." He did this in several instances.

When the two authors went away, Pope said, "I really do not feel the obscurity which struck Lord Halifax, and cannot tell how to mend the lines he objected to." "Lord," said Garth, "you do not seem to know those people. Do not alter your lines but return in about a fortnight, with the verses as they are, but tell Lord Halifax you have corrected them according to his lordship's generous criticism and advice, and then read them to him. You will find he will be delighted with your deference to his taste, and will not discover that the lines are as they were." Pope acted accordingly and the event was exactly as Garth foretold.

Lord Halifax was the great patron of Sir Isaac Newton. Mr. Williams says Voltaire or some other French author mentions that the offices which had been bestowed on that great man were in consequence of the respect paid to genius in this country, but that he had found that Sir Isaac's niece was Lord Halifax's mistress, and Mr. Williams says the fact was so. Sir Isaac had a niece unmarried, of the name of Mrs. Barton, a good looking person, of talents and reading. Sir Isaac lived with her in Lisle Street, Leicester Fields, and at her house there used to be a meeting in the evenings of men of learning and science. But it was a fixed rule that the meeting broke up at nine at night, and at that hour exactly Lord Halifax's chariot used to stop at the door. Old Mr. Mildmay, who had been secretary to Lord Bolingbroke and was a friend and neighbour

¹ Sir Samuel Garth, physician and poet, author of *The Dispensary*.

of Lady Drake's in the country, used to be of the meetings and told Mr. Williams that he has a hundred times met Lord Halifax's carriage in the street, or himself on the staircase, as he was going away.¹ Mrs. Barton, after her uncle's death, married Mr. Conduit, his successor as Master of the Mint, and Mr. Williams knew her well. She used to visit Lady Drake, was a clever-talking woman, a sort of leading character among the Tories.

Mildmay was a very entertaining, agreeable man. He told Williams that Lord Bolingbroke used his second wife Madame de Villette very harshly, but that after her death he would come to him and cry over her loss, sometimes for whole hours.

Lord Bolingbroke wished to die in the room where he was born at Battersea, and accordingly did die there.

I remember going about twenty years ago with a family who were looking out for a house to hire to see Lord Bolingbroke's, and took particular notice of a parlour wainscotted with cedar, on one of the panes in which was written with a diamond, "Dr. Swift, Alexander Pope and another (I forget the name) dined here such a day." Mr. Williams has dined in that room with Lord Bolingbroke's father.

Lord Mendip has been very dangerously ill for some days and most probably is dead at this moment. He is the father of Westminster School and almost the last of the respectable statesmen and politicians of the old school. I do not know of another alive who sat in Parliament with Sir Robert Walpole.

Jan. 21, 9.30 p.m.—I called at Lord Mendip's door and found he was thought to be better to-day.

Little Lord North is we hope out of danger, and Lord Guilford has been easier for some days.

I called on Lord Liverpool to-day. He seems to improve in health, but I cannot but think he knows that the Treaty at Amiens is not in a good train. I argue this from his manner, and he told me the other day that Schimmelpenninck² has held

¹ The precise nature of the relations between Halifax and the "gay and witty" Catherine Barton remain a mystery. Three views have been maintained: (1) that they were platonic; (2) that they were not; (3) that there was a secret marriage.

² Dutch ambassador and signatory of the Treaty of Amiens.

what he calls very insolent language. Fawkener who has great intercourse with foreign ministers, and politicians of all parties, and though a considerable gossip in politics and now a great *frondeur* of the Peace, is sensible and well-informed, is persuaded there is some rub. He has heard that Schimmelpenninck's declaration at Amiens has been that his will not be the hand to sign any Treaty so disgraceful to his country as one which should cede Ceylon to us.

Fawkener has heard from Tyrwhitt, who is just arrived from Vienna, by the way of Paris, that Prince Charles,¹ who is all powerful with the Austrian army, but seen with jealousy by the Emperor, is a decided partisan of France and wishes to form a strict alliance with that country. Lord Minto told me nearly the same thing. Jackson had not his audience of Buonaparte till a very considerable time after Otto had been presented here. When he had, Buonaparte showed him great attention. He dined at a splendid entertainment given by the first Consul to 180 people, foreign ministers, officers *qui ont bien mérité de la patrie*, etc. Buonaparte placed him opposite to him, addressed much of his conversation to him and sat longer than usual at table. He asked many questions, among them whether the Bishop of London (who spoke for the Peace) was not *à peu près* head of our church. He said, "*Le Prince de Galles selon le sort des grands a été l'objet de beaucoup de calomnie, mais son mérite et ses talens en ont triomphés.*" This, Fawkener observes, is in consequence of the flattery bestowed on Buonaparte by the Prince in the conference between Otto and him to which Sir John Macpherson introduced Otto, as he told me in confidence, and as it seems he had also told Fawkener.

Fawkener hears that Lord Cornwallis is very uncomfortable at Amiens. He expected nothing but smooth work and a short stay, but finds things very different. He, Joseph Buonaparte, Merry, and another Frenchman converse over and settle different

¹ The Archduke Charles Louis, who as commander of the army of the Rhine in 1796 and 1797 had won many victories against the French. Pitted against Napoleon, he proved no match for that supreme military genius, but, with the possible exception of Wellington, he was the greatest general whom the Allies produced.

points over night. Of these the Englishmen make a note or statement in writing correctly, as agreed on, but when this is shown next morning to the French they say they have been misunderstood, that they neither agreed nor had power to agree to such an extent, and that if need be they must write for fresh instructions.

Reports are current in the city that Pitt is again coming into office, that the Duke of Portland is going to Ireland, Grey (whose father is very ill) coming to the head of the Admiralty, etc. Tyrwhitt's report is that, abroad, there is no confidence in the vigour or the stability of the present Ministry.

Jan. 29, Friday, 9.15 a.m.—Lady Glenbervie, Fred and I went to Lady Charlotte's lodge last Saturday and passed a few days in complete retreat and happiness. The weather was as mild and the sun as bright and warm as in the fine days of April. But on Tuesday evening we received the melancholy tidings of the [death of] little Lord North, which had happened that morning at half past nine. This brought us to town on Wednesday morning, Fred having returned to school on the Monday afternoon. He continues at the head of the under fourth form and seems to enjoy a much happier state of existence since he became an upper school boy.

Lord Guilford's health had taken one of the favourable turns, which have occurred so often in his extraordinary case, a few days before the death of his child, and notwithstanding his affliction the favourable symptoms have increased so much that Farquhar yesterday told Lady Katherine he really thinks he may recover. Lady Guilford, almost distracted, has been sent to the country with the three girls, Lady Sheffield is so near her time that she cannot climb Lord Guilford's stairs, and Lady Charlotte is out of town, so that their brother would be alone if Lady Glenbervie did not pass almost the whole day from 1 till 12 at night in his bedchamber, or the room adjoining. She only comes home to dinner.

Yesterday Governor Wall was executed in the presence of a mob of many thousands who huzza'd when the scaffold dropt, and showed every sign of savage joy. It is thought if he had

been pardoned they would have torn him to pieces, and two reprieves had raised an expectation of that sort. The Cabinet on Wednesday had sat three hours considering his case. After the punishment of the Bantry Bay mutineers it is perhaps a fortunate coincidence that this punishment of an officer took place nearly at the same time.

The town and newspapers are full of reports of some new ministerial arrangements.

Jan. 30, Saturday, 9 a.m.—Lord Guilford continued to mend yesterday.

Prince Augustus (Duke of Sussex) had written a formal letter of separation to Lady Augusta Murray, who has it seems answered it with great art, but without producing any change in his resolution. He sent a copy of his letter to the Prince and also wrote on the occasion to the King, by Trail's advice. He perseveres in his plan of settling in Portugal and is studying the language with great assiduity, and apparently continues in the intention of turning Catholic. The King has been apprized of this, and wishes to consult with Lord Rosslyn upon it.

Jan. 31, Sunday, 10 p.m.—Lord Guilford is not so well. There is a report that Lord Clare is dead.¹ His place will not be easily filled. He had great defects but he had also eminent qualities. But for him Pitt would not have undertaken, nor without him could he have carried, the Union. He was fond of the law, I believe for a man who did not practically know the jurisprudence of England a good lawyer, and, though petulant and dashing, an upright, enlightened judge, laborious and expeditious. But with this he was a buck, a sportsman, a hard rider and drinker, a man of gallantry, though a decided cuckold, and a man of spirit, though a submissive cuckold, except in one or two instances where he flew out and Lady Clare is said to have confessed everything, to have acted the contrite penitent, to have been forgiven and to have relapsed. He had the spirit of a gentleman with the manners of a blackguard, which he seemed to think *ton*. He was a warm friend, liberal and generous, a bitter but not a malignant nor implacable enemy.

¹ He had died on January 28.

Allied with the Beresfords, he had in several Lord Lieutenancies governed Ireland. He expected to do so after the Union and the great share he had in that measure, and even, I think, aimed at being considerable in the politics of this country. He was completely disappointed and manifestly felt this strongly while here last summer; and more so I understand on his return to Ireland, where he in vain endeavoured to thwart and depreciate the authority and personal character and consequence of Lord Hardwicke and Abbot.¹ His severe and dangerous accident last summer probably shook his health, which had been long precarious. On his return to Ireland he mended, but finding a vast accumulation of business in his court in last Michaelmas term, and determining to get through it all, he overworked himself and brought on the distemper under which he has laboured nearly ever since, and to which the state of his mind no doubt contributed not a little.

Abbot called on me yesterday. He arrived the night before. We had some general conversation on Irish affairs. According to him Lord Clare, in the most indecent, gross manner, did everything on every occasion to depreciate and vilify Lord Hardwicke and his government, who on his part disguised his knowledge of this, and treated him uniformly with the attention and respect due to his station. Abbot says he expected to have been King of Ireland after the Union and was vexed to find he continued to be only Chancellor.

Ireland he says is perfectly quiet, which he ascribes to the Peace.

Feb. 4, Thursday.—Lord Mendip died Tuesday evening (2nd Feb.) at 7 o'clock. He had suffered severe pain during his illness which his friend and physician, Sir George Baker, considered as mortal from the beginning.

He was the father of Westminster School, and I believe of Parliament, but I am not sure whether Lord Kensington, who died a few months ago, had not sat longer in Parliament.

Feb. 5, Friday.—At the drawing room yesterday I happened to stand by Monsieur Otto when the King spoke to him, and,

¹ The Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary.

as his frequent custom is, his Majesty made me a party to the conversation.

The King has been lately reading a French history of the Revolution by a M. de Soulavie.¹ He talked a great deal about it to Otto, who professed not to have seen it, but told the King that the author is a *très mauvais sujet*. The King said he abuses every body of all descriptions, except the late King, and that he ascribes the Revolution to the recall of the Parliament. Otto agreed in opinion that the pretensions and effort of the parliaments had contributed very much. They thought to take the power from the King and fix it with themselves. They gained the first point, but in the end overthrew themselves also. The King said to me, "I know you have read the book." I said, as the truth is, that I never had seen it. Otto mentioned to him a book which has made a great noise at Paris, entitled *La Manière de rendre les Révolutions Utiles*. He said it is written with so much freedom as to have occasioned much surprise at its being suffered to be published at Paris. That it is an able performance, though in a bad style; that it contains a high panegyric on the late King, and, he added, a very just one, as he was the most interesting person of his time and country and the most amiable and respectable. This is nearly what he said at Coutts Trotter's the first time I dined with him.

The King then talked a great deal about the sect of modern philosophers and the mischief they have done—of Voltaire and d'Alembert. He said if the latter had confined himself to the mathematics he would have deserved the name of a true philosopher; that he wondered that men who devoted themselves to learning and science should grow worse men as they proceeded in acquiring knowledge. Otto said such men were only *savants à demi*; that Voltaire was of that description. The King also talked of the administrations and political conduct of Choiseul, d'Auguillon and Maupeou. In respect to the recall of the Parliaments, he said it might be wrong to banish

¹ Jean Louis Giraud Soulavie, a prolific historical writer and editor. The work which the King had been reading was probably *Mémoires historiques et politiques du règne de Louis XVI*, published in 1801.

them, but it was unwise to recall and reinstate them ; that the old King of Prussia on his accession had been urged to repeal a tax which had been unpopular and the imposition of which was represented as a very bad measure. He answered that he thought it was, that he should never have imposed it, but that finding it in force he should not repeal it. Otto mentioned that he had been in America with the late M. de la Luzerne who died here 22 years ago. He spoke very highly of him and his brother (whom I knew at Richmond after his emigration).

This conversation lasted I believe half an hour and raised a good deal of curiosity.

Feb. 9.—Yesterday was Fred's birthday, who entered on his twelfth year. As to-day is a half holiday we keep it to-day. It has always been a festival for the servants, and Lord Minto, little Edward Law (Ewen Law's son), Charles Du Blaisel and Sylvvy Wilson dine with us.

I have had an explanation with Hiley Addington relative to an impertinent paragraph in the *Times* of to-day, stating that I was one of those who had wished to be Speaker, but that the arrangement which has been settled will give infinitely more satisfaction. I mentioned to him all that had passed about the Speakership as to me, and the indignation I felt at such a paragraph in a paper supposed to be connected with Government. He professed the same indignation, said he had seen the paragraph, that he has no intercourse with Walter (the author of the *Times*) of whom he has the worst opinion, that Heron (the editor of the *True Briton*) would insert any paragraph I might suggest. I said I wished no such step to be taken. I was satisfied to find he thought as I did, and that papers supposed to be supported by Government ought to be under their control and not suffered to publish such impertinence, and that I only wished, on the present occasion, he would take occasion to express to his friends and acquaintance the sentiments he entertained about the paragraph in the *Times*, which he assured me he would. I took this occasion also of telling him of the scandalously false and impudent paragraph of last year reporting that I had strongly solicited to have the place of President of the Board of Control.

He asked if that was in the same paper. I could not recollect.

Long told me to-day that he and several others (he specified J. Smyth and Lord Camden) had agreed the other day in opinion that I was the fittest person to fill the Chair. He said he believed it was a very general opinion, and seemed to think very differently of Abbot's¹ fitness.

Feb. 15, Monday.—There is a current scandal, that the rigid moralist, and severe Christian, Mrs. *Hannah More*, had, in her early life, one or two natural children, for she never was married, and a considerable part of her income is said to arise from an annuity settled upon her by the father. They were laughing on this subject last night at Lord Guilford's and disputing whether the number was one or two. At length Lady Charlotte Lindsay said, "It may be difficult to know how many she has had, but considering her age, we may be pretty sure she will *Ha' no More*."

Feb. 21, Sunday, 9.30 a.m.—To-morrow se'nnight is St. David's day, the 1st of March. I shall never forget my arriving on that day in the year 1771, from France, and going in a hack chaise in the forenoon through Pall Mall just as the Welsh Society were returning from presenting an address to the Prince of Wales. That day was the commencement of a new period of my life. I entered of Lincoln's Inn I believe in the following month, being then 27 years of age.

March 1, Monday, 6.30 p.m.—General Budé has introduced Freudenreich to Lord Pelham, who has received and listened to him with great attention. He told Lord Pelham that he and I are the only two persons in office in England who have treated him with cordiality, and that Lord Hawkesbury had never seen him but once, and Hammond had told him he could not have for the present any intercourse with him. Pelham said to him frankly, and afterwards to me, that he thought such usage very harsh and very unwise. He is to see him again. It would appear

¹ Charles Abbot, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was chosen Speaker in Feb., 1802, and occupied the Chair until 1816, when he was created Lord Colchester.

that Reding, the principal *Landammann* of *Helvetia*, who had gone to Paris in hopes of settling a reasonable Government and constitution with Buonaparte, and from whose journey Freudenreich entertained the hope of considerable advantages to the friends of order and good government in Switzerland, has returned without success. In a note yesterday from Freudenreich to me he says, "The new elections in my country have been made according to the dictates of Buonaparte. He named himself to Reding, while at Paris, the persons he meant should be elected. There is in his words an avowal very honourable for us. *Ce sont les seuls qui soyent mes amis. Vous (i.e. Reding) et tous les oligarches êtes, comme de raison, mes ennemies, et il m'importe d'avoir dans ce Gouvernement des gens sur l'amitié desquels je puisse compter.*"

So it is in Holland, in Spain no doubt, Naples, Genoa, Rome, Portugal perhaps, and, if faith is to be given to the intrigues and confidences of that able *entremetteur* between our Cabinet, Carlton House, and the Tuileries, Sir John Macpherson, so it is already in a great degree here. For, according to him, Buonaparte refused his confidence to the representations of Lord Cornwallis and the terms he was instructed to propose or accede to, till Otto had been introduced to the Prince of Wales by Sir John, and his Royal Highness had assured him, for the purpose of communication to the first Consul, that he meant to give his cordial support to the present Administration and that he need apprehend no change in the Government if anything should happen to the King. He accompanied this declaration, according to what Sir John told me, with expressions of great admiration for Buonaparte, and a long and luminous exposition of the true political interests of this country and Europe which excited the highest admiration in himself and Otto.

It was about a week after this curious interview, which I am persuaded was as represented by Sir John, that Buonaparte, at the first dinner he gave to Jackson, took occasion to pass such a high panegyric on the talents and virtues of the Prince, and which he repeated about the same time to that gambler and adventurer O'Byrne who is now at Paris, and who, to attract the

Consul's notice, had dressed himself in an old uniform of the Prince's. Buonaparte, on being informed what uniform it was, launched out in the same fulsome encomiums on the Prince. This I heard about three weeks ago from a person to whom O'Byrne had written an account of it. It was last week the subject of a paragraph in several Government newspapers.

March 11, Thursday, 9 a.m.—On Thursday last, at the drawing room, the King talked to me a great deal about Lord Liverpool and his long experience and knowledge of business. He said he never could form any idea of what is called a heaven-born Minister. He said the two or three instances we had seen of men born with such extraordinary talents as to be able to conduct public business (though certainly under great disadvantage) without gradual experience and the progressive education of statesmen, had made everybody aspire to the same sort of reputation and success, but that for one who can fly thousands must be content to climb. I said one Dedalus produces many an Icarus.

March 12, Friday, 9 a.m.—A friend of Buonaparte is said to have represented to him the offence which his assumption of the government of Italy would give to mankind in general and to have said, "*Tout le monde s'en indignera.*" His answer was, "*Vous le croyez? Hé bien, que tout le monde s'indigne.*" The report of war was stronger than ever yesterday.

March 18, Thursday, 9 a.m.—The night before last Lady Sheffield was safely delivered of a son at a quarter past ten p.m. It is her first child. She has been married since January, 1798. She is 38 and I believe Lord Sheffield 64.¹

The definitive treaty still hangs in suspense, and the public opinion in this country is clearly pronounced against concluding it without some further guarantee or balance against the increased power of Buonaparte since the month of October, beyond what we were to retain by the *préliminaires*.

The Private Theatre (or whatever it is called), in Tottenham

¹ Lady Anne North was Lord Sheffield's third wife. By his first he had had a son, who died young, and two daughters. The son now born became second Earl of Sheffield. There was subsequently a daughter.

Court Road, opened on Monday. Lord Minto, who was there, says it went off very heavily. It seems to me to be an attempt in Henry Greville (one of Mrs. Crewe's brothers, who is the manager) to get people to pay for a room and entertainment where he may have the gratification of hearing himself sing, and seeing himself act. I am, however, a subscriber in Lady Mount-Edgcumbe's box, but feel very little inclined to go to it.

April 27, Tuesday, 12 midday.—Lord Guilford died this day last week (20th April) at 5 p.m. He had been ill about five years. As Lady Guilford is not supposed to be with child, the Earldom and Barony of Guilford descend to his brother Francis, with an estate of more than 18,000*l.* a year gross income, and which pays clear 14,000*l.* The Barony of North is in abeyance between his daughter Lady Maria, by his first wife Maria, daughter of George, Earl of Buckinghamshire, and his two daughters Lady Susan¹ and Lady Georgiana, by Miss Coutts the eldest of the three daughters of Mr. Coutts the banker.

The Peace is to be proclaimed the day after to-morrow, Thursday, 29th April, 1802.

Poor Lord Guilford's remains are to leave London on that day, on their way to be interred in the family vault at Wroxton.

July 20, Tuesday, 8 a.m., Pay Office.—Last night from 10 to 12, I had a long and interesting conversation with Addington. I think it is not his fault that my diplomatic views will not succeed. We discussed first my ideas of the Board of Trade and my situation there, and I satisfied him and obtained his complete undertaking that it should be understood at the Boards, and in the different Departments, that I am to communicate directly with himself and the other Ministers, when necessary; then my parliamentary duty next session—I undertook a good deal, but, if I keep my health, I will perform it. Lastly, he is to talk with Lord Castlereagh as to the part I am to take as a member of the Board of Control.

¹ Susan, who had married the Rt. Hon. John Sidney Doyle, became Baroness North in 1841 on the death without issue of her half-sister, who had married the second Marquess of Bute; Georgiana having already died unmarried. Mr. Doyle had assumed the surname of North in 1838, and his son succeeded to the barony.

Afterwards followed much discussion of the state of domestic politics, the revival of corresponding societies, their exertions for Burdett, etc. He entertains sanguine hopes of the new Parliament.¹ He thinks the Grenvilles and Fox cannot (at least for a long time) amalgamate, and that they cannot muster any strength of themselves. Dundas is to be still King of Scotland, and William Dundas under him undertakes for Scotland in the House of Commons. I stated my real sentiments, and of Pitt and others. Among other things, I said that Pitt's resignation would be a most difficult problem in history, and I believed would remain always inexplicable. He said only two people know the key to it, himself and Pitt. However, by degrees he discovered that my notions put down at the time are his. He said the intrigues of others, and the state of health of body and mind had a great share. He has committed to writing all that passed and owned that I knew many of the leading circumstances.

Pitt is in town and had been with him, and also Steele, in the morning. He said, "How lucky it has been that Lord Hawkesbury and I have been in town this summer to keep Pitt right." A memorable expression. He confirmed me when I said that I believed a strong push had been made to induce Pitt to come forward, and did not dissent when I added that if he had yielded he would have disgraced himself.

Aug. 13, Friday, 8 a.m., Pheasantry.—I am going to set off this morning for Weymouth to be present at the Council for proroguing the Parliament, and I am going to take Fred with me, who is at home for the Bartlemew Tide holidays.

Lady Glenbervie has just repeated to me the circumstances which convince her that the Prince of Wales is married to Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Mrs. Fitzherbert had gone abroad (accompanied by the two Lindsays) with the declared purpose of remaining abroad two or three years. After she had been gone some time an express arrived from the Prince, on which she immediately determined

¹ Parliament had been dissolved on June 28, and a general election was held in July.

to return, and her arrival in London was fixed for a particular Tuesday. Sir Ralph Payne having invited his Royal Highness to a ball at his house for that day, he took him by the hand, squeezed it, and said that nothing on earth could induce him to accept any invitation on the day he expected Mrs. Fitzherbert.

On that day Sam Johnes, Chaplain to the Prince, and at that time a great favourite, happened to dine at Bushey, and in the afternoon was playing at Commerce with the family when a messenger arrived from the Prince with a letter in which he said he was sorry to take him from an agreeable party but that he must come to him that evening, that he could take no refusal. Johnes showed this letter, and they all, partly in jest, partly seriously, told him the business must be to marry the Prince. Some days afterwards, the Prince and Johnes came together to dine at Bushey, and the family took occasion to say they must not ask him to betray secrets, but that they were sure he had married the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert. He declared he had not, and that he would tell them the fact as it really happened—that he was shown into a room on getting to Carlton House, and soon after a message was brought him to say that the Prince could not see him that night but desired he would come to-morrow morning to breakfast. He went, but the Prince never mentioned to him what business he had wanted him for. The conjectures both he and the ladies of the North family formed was that the Prince had meant to be married by him, but that Mrs. Fitzherbert had insisted on the ceremony being performed by a priest. A current report afterwards was, that she had been married by one Gautier, a French priest, and that the two Lindsays, Errington (Mrs. Fitzherbert's uncle) and his wife, Lady Broughton, were present; but Sam Johnes told Lady Glenbervie that he knew for certain the two Lindsays were not present. Johnes thought himself too happy in having escaped from the risk of being obliged to decide between a breach of the law and a refusal to obey the Prince. A day or two after he had given the above account to the family at Bushey, Lord North told them (confidentially) that a variety of circumstances had satisfied him that the Prince had actually married Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Aug. 17, Tuesday, 6 a.m., Weymouth.—I have been here since Saturday late at night.

The King appears to be very well, has less of his natural hurried manner than before his illness, though sometimes it breaks out. I have had but one particular conversation with him, on the character as lawyers and judges of Thurlow, Scott, Kenyon, Lord Camden, and Lord Mansfield. He seems to me to have judged them as the least partial or prejudiced of their contemporaries have, and as impartial history will. He said none of them were to be compared, in point of talents, to Lord Mansfield. Lord Camden's pursuit of popularity when a judge, and his mixing politics with justice, he assumed as an undisputable fact; said he had a fine voice, but he believed his reputation was low as a lawyer, that he was, he believed, thought to be *vox et præterea nihil*. He also indicated a dislike of Dunning. I observed that if he had also mixed politics too much with law, it was less exceptionable in a lawyer than in a judge.

We held a Council yesterday at two at the King's House (Gloucester Lodge) in the dining room. The chief business was the prorogation of Parliament (to the 5th October):

The only Ministers here are the Duke of Portland and Lord Hobart, but the Council was numerous, viz. the Duke of Portland, Lord Hobart, the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Dartmouth, who came down to receive the Lord Steward's Staff (lately taken from Lord Leicester), Lord Salisbury, Lord Walsingham, Lord Rosslyn, Sir Joseph Banks and myself. We afterwards dined together, with the exception of the Duke of Cumberland, and the additions of John Erskine, Sir Stephen Cotterell, the Clerk of the Council in Waiting, and Lord Chetwynd, at Stacie's Hotel, and in the evening paid our court by going in the hottest of the dog days to a very crowded play, where two tolerable female performers danced a sort of dumb show duet to the tune of *God Save the King*, which was afterwards sung, the audience standing up and humming in chorus. The King remained seated, attentive to his own applause, but not unbecomingly so.

The young Princess¹ is here with Lady Elgin, and was at the play. I think she looks less pretty than last year, but the general opinion seems otherwise. It is impossible to look at her without thinking a little seriously of the future lot of herself and of the kingdom, which she may have to govern. Everybody's mouth is full of anecdotes of her sayings and doings. This is natural. Every look, gesture, word and act of a child of her high destinies seems to be a fact worth noting and repeating.

An ex-Minister is I should think very uncomfortable at the Court, but Lord Rosslyn would stay if he were asked and still haunts the places where his credit died.

I do not wonder at the King's choice of this place. The country round it is open and rather bare but neither barren nor tame, and the bay, subtended by a line of two frigates, two yachts and their boats, which go quite across, and encompassed for two-thirds of a circle by a very handsome quay-like gravel walk called the esplanade, which is separated by a very broad road from a handsome con-central row of houses facing south-west, is, to my taste, beautiful. But there have been few visits to the Royal Family this season, which has made the scene less amusing to the King, and the Queen and Princesses, as I heard from Addington, were tired of it in a manner before they set out.

Aug. 18, Wednesday, 6 a.m., Weymouth.—The Royal Family sailed yesterday. They embark about 10, dine on board and stay out till six, cruising between St. Aubin's Point [St. Albans Head] eastward and Portland Point west, where there is little tide and comparatively still water. I was not invited, or, as it is more properly called, commanded, to be of the King's party—perhaps because I had told from my first being here that I am very subject to sea-sickness. But I saw the embarkation, a great deal of the cruise, and the return into port. There was a little fleet—two frigates, the *St. Fiorenza* (Captain Bengton [?]) and the *Blanch* (Hammond) and two royal yachts, viz. the (Queen) *Charlotte* (Captain Sir Harry Neale) and the *Augusta*, Captain Grey (Charles Grey's brother). There were

¹ Princess Charlotte of Wales.

besides various boats and pinnaces belonging to this squadron and other pleasure boats. The sea was quite calm at the time of the embarkation, and it no further moved but by the commencing ebb of the slight degree of tide which prevails in this bay. The Royal Family were rowed to the *Augusta* in their pinnace, and on getting on board the guns of all the four vessels, which lay in a line across the line of the bay, the *Augusta* being second on the left, were fired at intervals for some time, when the smoke rose slowly in lambent volumes from the two sides of each, which expanding gradually in all directions covered more and more the ships from which it issued till they became diminished to a cone, to a line and to a point. The flashes of the discharge from time to time illuminated the smoke, and the echoes from the rocks on each side of the bay were borne by the gentle southerly breeze to the shore. The sky was perfectly clear, the sun still young, and the smoke was long before it reached the three flags on the *Augusta*.

The esplanade was crowded with well-dressed spectators, and Lord Dartmouth, who has a taste for drawing and happened to be standing with me at the door of Gloucester Lodge in the centre of the view opposite the *Augusta*, was particularly struck with the beauty and to him as well as to me the novelty of so grand yet so gay and placid a sight.

Though the expeditions were of a very different nature many circumstances made it impossible not to recall, on the occasion, Shakespeare's description of the embarkation of Henry V at Southampton :

Suppose that you had seen
The well-appointed King at Hampton Pier
Embark his royalty, and his brave fleet
With silken streamers the Young Phœbus fanning.

I went with Sir Stephen Cotterell and his nephew-in-law, Lord Chetwynd, to the Island of Portland in a pleasant row and sail boat, where Fred and Lord Hobart joined us on horseback.

Our Portland party and Sir Richard Ford dined with the Duke [of Portland] at this house (Stacie's), and having received

the Queen's commands by notes from Lady Cathcart, his Grace, Lord Rosslyn and I went to her Majesty's card party in the evening, where I was soon placed at a side Commerce table. The Duke and Lord Rosslyn, at the Queen's. There was another Commerce table also. That where I was consisted of the Duke of Cumberland, the Princess Mary, Princess Sophia of Gloucester, Lady Cranley, Miss Onslow, Mrs. Drax Grosvenor, General Cartwright and myself. The Princess Mary called to me to seat myself on her left hand between her and the Princess Sophia. I have seldom been more pleased than by the condescension and good-natured politeness of both. The Princess Mary is perfect, a very pretty small face full of sense and sweetness, and a cheerful, easy conversation, not familiar nor lofty, like what a princess's and a gentlewoman's if possessing sense, taste and good humour ought to be, and what I never saw more fully realised in any gentlewoman, and could still less expect in a princess, though the Princess Mary's looks and manners are much talked of by those of the Court who are least addicted to what no courtier is quite without—flattery. The Princess Sophia recognised me as an old acquaintance, she said an old friend. Her cousin the Duke of Cumberland tried her good humour a good deal during the party, by a sort of quizzing jokes, which however seemed to be meant in great good nature, and were borne by her with equal temper and propriety.

The Princess Mary appeared a little afraid that I might be scared at this style of raillery, and said, once, "Brother, it is well we are among friends."

I supped at the Equerry's with General Cartwright, Colonel Fitzroy and Lord Walsingham. I am now going to write my dear Lady Glenbervie, while Fred, in the adjoining bed, is sleeping off his fatigues of yesterday.

At 11 we are to be off, Sir Stephen, Lord Chetwynd, Fred and I by land for Lymington, whither Lord Rosslyn and his nephew have sailed or are to sail this morning in the *Rose* Custom House cutter to meet us at night.

Aug. 19, Thursday, Christchurch.—I had yesterday a conversation of above an hour with the King in the Equerry's room

where he came to wait till a boat race appointed for 11 was ready. His remarks on public speaking were very judicious. He said long speeches in Parliament had come in about 20 or 25 years ago; that Lord North ("but," says he, "I may be partial to that quarter") never even on his budget spoke above an hour and a half, and always made an apology when he did. He said he told him he never spoke from notes and that he never wrote down more than mere heads; that Lord Grenville told him that he almost always wrote the full speech he was to make down at length, but did not try to get it by heart. He spoke much of Lord North's wit and candour (all in the hearing of Sir Stephen Cotterell, General Cartwright, Lord Walsingham, Colonel Fitzroy and Lord Chetwynd). On this I told him that I had heard Mr. Pitt say that he thought no man he had ever had an opportunity of hearing possessed the lively good-humoured wit which Lord North did. The King seemed struck and said, turning to the other persons present, "I am very glad you have told me this. I am glad Mr. Pitt said so. When he (Mr. Pitt) made his first speech Lord North said to me it was an extraordinary speech and bespoke a great orator, but that he would not form a fixed opinion till a second speech. After the second Lord North said, 'It is now clear, he will be a very great speaker.' I (added the King) told Mr. Pitt this, and said, 'I wish you to feel the candour with which he does you justice.'"

The King then told us that Lord North liked to have all his papers for his budget ready to take down to Bushey of a Saturday, and to open his budget on Monday, employing the intermediate time in arranging the materials in his head. He said Lord North thought Mr. Pitt's excellence, beyond all other speakers, to be in the perfect composition and language which flowed spontaneously from him. That his differed extremely from his father's eloquence, whose talent and practice was to surprise and work upon the imagination and the passions, by intervals breaking forth into explosions of grand words and lofty phrases.

He said that Charles Townshend told him one day in answer to a question of his about Alderman Beckford, that Beckford was heavy, stupid and unintelligible, but that Pitt used to rise

immediately after him, and by looks, gestures and a mass of fine sounding rumbling words, in which he gave whatever meaning he wished to Beckford's ¹ speech, would make the House believe the Alderman had said something fine, and that they were the blockheads for not having comprehended him sooner.

We went afterwards to the esplanade, where I had the honour of a good deal of conversation with the Queen, the Princess Elizabeth, the Princess Mary and the Princess Sophia of Gloucester.

The Princess Elizabeth talked of Mrs. Sneyd with tears of affection, and added that her love for her had made her wish anxiously for the acquaintance of Lady Glenbervie.

We dined yesterday at Poole, saw the harbour, and got what information we could about the trade and shipping. I asked a merchant if he thought a revolution in the religion of the Catholic countries would diminish the demand for their Newfoundland fish. He said he had not the least idea it would ; that habit, climate and price made their fish necessary to the Italians, etc.

We slept at Christchurch, where Rose has built a fine inn on the site of that which Jean [was] the landlord of.

On our way hither we saw his marine cottage and the famed Highcliff, the wings of which have been pulled down, and the rest of which will probably soon fall down.² Charles Stuart sold it to Vanhysen with furniture, etc., for, as we heard, about 11,000/. One Penleaze or some such name, a doctor from some village near London, gave him for it about four years ago, but without the furniture, about 7,000/. He and his family have come to reside lately. Here Lord Bute buried his money and his politics and his science for many years, and it has already shifted hands three times since his death, and is now the ill-suited retreat of this village doctor.

Slides to a scrivener or a city knight.

¹ William Beckford, twice Lord Mayor of London, and M.P. for the City ; father of the author of *Vathek*.

² Lord Bute's house, where he spent the most of his latter days, was destroyed by the fall of the cliff. The Penleazes built another ; but the present Highcliff Castle was built by Lord Stuart de Rothesay about 1830.

We have hired a boat for three days to carry us round the Isle of Wight.

Aug. 20, Friday, 5 a.m., Newport.—We went to Carisbrooke Castle, after having made a hasty dinner here yesterday, and met with much hospitality, and much useful information for to-day's tour from my old friend Lord Bolton. We are to dine with him to-day.

When the King asked me about Lord Liverpool's health, and whether he could use his legs and carve his meat, and I told him he could as formerly, he said, "Why, to be sure, his motions were never very graceful though he always thought them so," (adding good-naturedly that every one of us has some such misplaced vanity, though not always so distinguishable). Long ago, he said, Lady Bute would tell Lord Liverpool when he was making some of those graceful gestures, "For God's sake, Mr. Jenkinson, do not make those motions; they make you just like Lord Temple, which I cannot bear to see." For, said the King, she hated Lord Temple. The Queen also, in my conversation with her, spoke with a smile of Lord Liverpool's graces.

Aug. 22, Sunday, 5 a.m., in bed, Cuffnells.—After waiting yesterday from half past nine till near to four for our vessel, which was coming round from Cowes, we crossed over in three-quarters of an hour and took a hasty dinner at Lymington, when my two good-humoured and accommodating fellow-travellers proceeded on to London, Fred and I diverging to this beautiful place and magnificent house.

I have found Rose in his first fit of the gout, his left leg and foot swelled and swaddled in flannel in a true gouty shoe. But his right leg is also swelled, and therefore I apprehend there is more debility than vigour in his gout. I have for these three years seen him breaking up. He says this Parliament is nearly in politics like the last, but talks sneeringly of the number of adventuring lawyers in it.

Addington told me he thought it very good. I dare say he hopes, perhaps he believes, it is. Perhaps it is—as to promises and calculations and conjectures—but from many circumstances of its interior materials as well as of the fashion and state of

the times, I think it will prove of a new and probably a singular sort. It cannot with all its lawyers be called *parliamentum indoctum*, but if it were to get a nick-name *parliamentum ignobile* would not be ill suited.

Rose seems much out of spirits. What are riches and a grand possession when life is on the lees and power gone? He is just come from Walmer. Pitt has given Deal Castle to Lord Carrington.

The only company here is the Marquess Thomond (formerly Earl of Inchiquin) and the Marchioness, formerly Miss Palmer, the niece and heir of Sir Joshua Reynolds. My Lord is a true Paddy of high rank, spouting hackneyed verses, talking a good deal, something in the style of Swift's polite conversation, adulatory to excess and mixing a sentimental sort of compliment to yourself and your friends with a sort of bluff commonplace frankness not half or quarter witty and very nearly quite vulgar. He is handsome and not agreeable. Mrs. and Miss Rose appear to advantage in Lady Thomond's company, but it is as much in vain for Rose to try as he does to be an English country gentleman retired from office as it is for Lord Liverpool to be the easy and accomplished man of fashion giving patrician dignity to office. They have both considerable qualifications and merit, but not of the sorts they pique themselves upon.

Aug. 23, Monday, 8 a.m., Pheasantry.—Rose's ground apartment is magnificent, but the conservatory or greenhouse is heavy and obstructed by columns.

We (*i.e.* Fred and I) left Cuffnells at half past ten yesterday and arrived here at half past nine p.m.

We are going to town this morning and I hope to Sheffield Place to-morrow.

Rose showed me a long letter dated 6th August from Coutts. It is in the style of his conversation with me, and written after that conversation. He half rides the great horse in it, half supplicates for pardon. He is Rose's banker. He wrote to a similar purport some time before to Pitt and to Lord Chatham, whose banker he is, as he had been their father's.

I asked Rose the reason why the King's money had been

taken from Coutts. He said he heard it in a way which precluded him from mentioning; that the reason had nothing to do with politics. That it had been some answer or transaction which had been felt to be unaccommodating. That the Drummonds had become more agreeable to the King.

Aug. 26, Thursday, 7 a.m., Sheffield Place.—I came here on Tuesday and return to-day in order to dine to-morrow with the West India Docks Company after seeing the opening of their docks.

Lord Egremont has lately made an excursion to Paris. He is said to be married to Miss Fox, who had lived with him for years.¹ She is the daughter of a low person at Brightelmstone.

Aug. 27, Friday, 9.30 a.m., Pay Office.—I did dine and sleep at Addiscombe. Lord Liverpool seems weaker, and now and then I perceive a failure of memory.

I find (though he would not seem to know it) that the Prince lately came to the Duchess of Dorset at Brighton, and asked that she would visit Lady Lucan, formerly Lady Elizabeth Howard, and divorced.² The Duchess said, "Sir, that is impossible because I *never* was acquainted with her. She would think it very strange if I were to leave my name with her." The Prince has never spoken to the Duchess since. What a strange negotiation for a Prince of Wales.

There is no company at Brightelmstone but him and Mrs. Fitzherbert and such divorced ladies as Lady Lucan, and women of the town. Mrs. Walpole, a neighbour at Addiscombe, has been there. She was justifying the Prince and his society till Lord Liverpool says they made her own that there were but two women of character belonging to it when she was there, herself to wit, and one other lady. If certain anecdotes I have heard are true, she was not very well entitled to except herself. She is sister to the late Miss Vanneck,³ who, being a large

¹ Egremont, whom Greville found at Petworth, "surrounded with children and grandchildren," never married.

² She had been Lady Elizabeth Bellasis, daughter and coheir of the second Earl of Fanconberg. Her first husband, Bernard Edward Howard, who became twelfth Duke of Norfolk in 1815, had divorced her in 1794.

³ They were daughters of Sir Joshua Vanneck, a wealthy merchant created a baronet, and sisters of the first Lord Huntingfield.

masculine woman and a great sychopant to the Prince and therefore of many of his parties, was described by some wit to be a *fellow* of the Royal Society.

I am going, of Addington and Lord Pelham's party, to see the West [India] Docks opened.

Aug. 28, Saturday, 7 a.m.—Addington did not go, but came to the dinner afterwards at the *London Tavern*.

The day was favourable and the passage of the two ships, the first empty, the other a West India sugar ship fully laden, through the sort of lock between the eastern basin and the dock, was successful, though it required rather more time than seemed to have been foreseen. The empty ship was named the *Henry Addington*.

Lord Pelham brought with him, of our party, two members of the National Institute, Parmentier and Houssard, who, on the suggestion of Lord Egremont, have been sent over to this country by the Agricultural Council of the Institute to take a view of and report on the state of the agriculture of this country.

The song of "The Pilot that weathered the Storm" was sung yesterday, and much applauded. It was a political engine at Pitt's anniversary dinner, written by Canning, and it has been much criticised both as a composition and on account of the opinions it insinuates and the purpose it was meant to promote.¹ It is very obvious that the author would not be sorry to see the new storm arise, which, according to the last stanza, would bring his pilot back to the helm. The Duke of York was at the dinner and neither he nor Addington seemed much delighted with this song. It ascribes the merit of keeping the King on the throne entirely to Pitt, calls his resignation "a fall," etc.

Sept. 2, Thursday, 5 a.m., Eastbourne.—On coming here yesterday I was met at the entrance to the sea houses by Mr. Barton (Addington's private secretary, and son to Mrs. Hatsell)

¹ This famous song was composed by Canning for the banquet held on Pitt's birthday, March 28, 1802, three days after the Treaty of Amiens had been signed.

who had been directed to desire that I would dine with Addington and to say that he expected Lord Castlereagh, who would also dine there. I accordingly did dine with him, and, as Lord Castlereagh was not arrived, it was quite a *diner de famille*, consisting only of Mr. and Mrs. Addington and myself, and Mrs. Addington having retired soon after dinner, he and I had a long confidential and to me interesting and curious *tête-à-tête* from about 6 till 10 o'clock.

He is a man of considerable address as well natural as acquired, much frankness of manner, but tempered with a sufficiency of reserve; willing enough to speak freely of men, as well as of political transactions and political questions, but that only when he has ascertained what your opinion is. Not that he is insincere or weak enough to square his own to yours, but if he can he will colour and shade it in to yours if you seem to him to differ from him only in some reconcileable degree.

As to his general political creed, it has been, as far as I have had an opportunity of discovering, from some accidental intercourse with him at different times ever since 1784, uniformly and confessedly what used to be reckoned Toryism. He is a strong friend to the royal prerogative and to the Church, a declared and strenuous opponent of what is called a Reform of Parliament, and in short, I think, of the same principles in matters of state with Lord Guilford.

He has a great memory stored with long tirades of speeches in Parliament and long passages of poetry, chiefly Latin and English. He also has read and knows by heart passages from some of the good French poets, though he pronounces French wretchedly. I have not perceived that he has much familiar acquaintance with Greek literature, and he has probably not cultivated it much beyond the knowledge he acquired at Winchester School and at Oxford.

We had much free conversation about the nicer circumstances of his accession to his present situation, and also relative to the business of the next session of Parliament and the manner in which he proposes to conduct it. From what passed yesterday, I think he means and wishes it to be understood that Lord

Castlereagh should be his right hand man in the House of Commons.¹ He told me in our last conversation in Downing Street that he thought Lord Castlereagh a readier man than Lord Hawkesbury in extempore and miscellaneous debate. He added yesterday a still more substantial and obvious reason for his having wished to associate him to his Administration, namely that from the state of Lord Liverpool's health, it is not likely that Lord Hawkesbury should remain long in the House of Commons.

Addington has had, he says, an explicit conversation with Pitt. He has said to him : " It is become quite necessary that we should thoroughly understand one another. I, you well know, was not a volunteer ; you told me in the most solemn manner that you saw no other alternative but the total ruin and destruction of the country or my acceptance of the Government. I therefore must explicitly declare to you that I expect your firm unequivocal support in general, and that even on questions on which our opinions differ (on many they are known always to have differed) I shall not find opposition from you." This is the substance and nearly the words he told me he used, and Pitt gave him solemn and satisfactory assurance of unequivocal and warm support, adding that he regretted that he had not always been able to give the attendance he wished to do. Addington, in relating this, told me he was resolved not to remain longer in the sort of uncertainty according to public opinion in which he might appear to have stood last year.

He then also desired to know explicitly from Pitt what his views were as to office, and Pitt declared as explicitly that he was completely determined against coming into office, and that nothing could alter that resolution unless unfortunately such a state of things should arise as would call upon every man to come forward in whatever way he could best contribute to save his country, such a state as would render it the duty of every man to carry a musket, if in that way he could be of

¹ Castlereagh, though he had resigned the Irish Secretaryship on the Catholic question, had, by Pitt's desire, accepted the Board of Control from Addington.

essential use. Addington added that Dundas had told him that he found Pitt had a fixed determination not to come again into office.

Query: If all this is sincere? My own belief is that for the present it is. Yet it is far from impossible that Pitt only means not to take office as a colleague and inferior of Addington. The political friendship between them, whatever they may say, or to be as candid as it is possible to be, whatever they may think, must now be at an end. Their private habits and ancient recollections may long continue to operate, but it would be to be blind and a fool not to perceive and not to conclude that Addington has the feelings towards Pitt which their relative situation necessarily creates, and though I have been too little in Pitt's company since the change to argue from any observation of him, it is impossible to have heard, and heard of, all that is said, insinuated and propagated, not merely by Canning, but by Rose, Long, Lord Carrington, etc., etc., without coming to the same conclusion as to Pitt. At the same time I think it is less incident to Pitt's than to Addington's situation to have those feelings. I do not believe it is less incident to his character. For with his extraordinary talents he has not, according to my observation, true generosity or magnanimity of sentiment. He has more of the orator than of the statesman, and has the littleness of Cicero, not the noble liberality of Caesar. This to be sure is the remark of one not very partial to him, but it is my genuine and most deliberate opinion, and I know it to be that of many impartial and competent judges.

Sept. 3, Friday, 6 a.m., Eastbourne.—Lord Castlereagh had arrived at 9 on Wednesday evening. He and Addington spent the whole day together yesterday. I took them before dinner to see Mr. Gilbert's beautiful marine view. They seemed pleased with one another, and Addington told me he had had much satisfaction in their conversation and explanations. They were to have dined at Abbot's, but either wished to continue the *tête-à-tête* during dinner and the evening, or my two young companions had by previous engagement entirely filled the Speaker's table. There dined, besides us, at his house

(the same which Almeyda occupied three years ago) Lady Calthorpe, her son Lord Calthorpe, a daughter, the son's tutor, and Miss Gibbs. In the evening the Speaker and I had much long and confidential conversation on the sands, wherein we chiefly discussed the facts and motives of Pitt's resignation, and that of his colleagues, and the advantages the present Government will derive from the accession of Lord Castlereagh.

Abbot solemnly protested to me his determination never to be a party to any attempt to force the King to agree to Irish Catholic emancipation.

Lord Castlereagh stays to-day, and Addington, he, Abbot and myself are to dine together. But I mean if possible to have one separate and definite conversation still with each, and first with Addington. I will endeavour to persuade Lord Castlereagh to go with me to-morrow to Sheffield Place. It is quite in his way to London, and he will flatter and gratify Lord Sheffield very much by calling there.

Lady Calthorpe is the daughter of the late General Carpenter, formerly a great favourite of the King, and who killed himself some years ago. She has the character of a respectable, worthy woman, much devoted to the duty of educating and taking care of her orphan children. Her eldest son (about 16)¹ was left to the special care of Addington, and is at Winchester School with young Addington. He has I believe a large fortune, and the mother a large income. She is somewhat *précieuse*, and I believe of Wilberforce's sect. I perceived, by talking with her, being placed next her at table, that she is also a great courtier. But in her eulogiums (on the Princesses especially and particularly on the Princess Mary) I most cordially joined and believe that they were as sincere on her part as they certainly were on mine.

Abbot thinks the death of the King might be a case requiring Pitt's return, a *nodus vindice dignus*. I asked him if he did not apprehend that the Prince's conduct and character would in that event render the disease too desperate even for him to remedy.

¹ Charles, second Lord Calthorpe, was born in 1786. He died unmarried in 1807 and was succeeded by his brother George.

In reply he averred it to be his deliberate opinion that there is vigour and public spirit enough and attachment to the Constitution to bring it safe into port from any storm which may then arise. I told him I rejoiced to find that was his opinion, and I really do rejoice in it. I incline and most earnestly wish to agree with him, but I hope the safety of the ship, the "*Fortiter occupa portum*" is not to depend on Pitt, or any given individual, being the pilot.

Sept. 7, Sunday, 7.30 a.m., Sheffield Place.—We left Eastbourne yesterday at half past five a.m., Fred, James Gordon and I having taken leave of Lady Guilford and her children overnight.

On Friday morning, before breakfast, I called on Addington and found Lord Castlereagh waiting for him. They spent the morning and all day till dinner time together. They, and I, the Duchess of Leeds and Mrs. Bentham (Abbot's mother)¹ dined at the Speaker's. I retired at 8 o'clock oppressed with fatigue and sleep, and I understood yesterday from Lord Castlereagh that he had gone home with Addington soon afterwards, and finished with him before they parted.

As Lord Castlereagh was uncertain whether he must not see Addington again in the morning, I had relinquished the hopes of travelling part of the way with him, but he overtook me yesterday half way between Horse Bridge and Uckfield, and I came with him in his chaise to the latter place, whence he proceeded directly to London. He thought he could not spare time to stop at Lord Sheffield's.

Yesterday morning I had a second ample conversation with Abbot, in which I explained my sense of the former injustice I had met with, as I conceive, from Pitt, on the occasion of my first considerable speech in Parliament. He agreed with me that the noise in the corner behind and to the right hand of the chair was under such a regular system of tactics that Pitt by a look could, in most cases, excite or stifle it, and he agreed that it was injustice to suffer it to take place on that

¹ She had married, as her second husband, Jeremy Bentham, the utilitarian philosopher.

occasion when a person who had so recently filled so considerable an office under his own Government rose to contribute to the defence of that administration in Ireland of which he had made a part.

I took the same opportunity of telling him the whole history of the meetings for framing the Articles of the Union, of Pitt's having prevented any minutes being made of the proceedings, or any nomination even of the persons who formed the meeting to be a committee of council, and of his having avoided even mentioning them or their proceedings directly, or indirectly, in Parliament. I said to him in short, what I have said to others, and written, concerning that conduct of Mr. Pitt, mentioning that I have put my sentiments upon it in writing in a letter to a third person (without naming the person) whom I meant to show it and who did show it to him. I told him I had reason to think that the other Privy Counsellors, or most of them, thought, or felt, as I did. I also explained to Abbot (as I believe I have mentioned before, and as I did on the Wednesday to Addington) my reasons for my not dining at Pitt's anniversary, or subscribing to his statue. I had indeed given those reasons to Abbot, on the day of the dinner, in the House of Commons.

Sept. 8, Wednesday, 12 30 p.m., Pay Office.—A Mr. Smith has called on me this morning who has been lately at Paris, and was introduced to Buonaparte as a Dutch subject by Schimmelpenninck, being proprietor of lands in Demarara. Francis¹ was introduced at the same time and an officer of the 42nd who was in his uniform. Buonaparte asked Francis if he was not a Member of Parliament and he answered yes. He said, "I hope your new Parliament will co-operate with me in the great work of peace, and will not suffer themselves to be misled by Mr. Windham and his partisans." On being informed by the officer that he belonged to the 42nd, Buonaparte said, "You have been in Egypt. Your regiment and countrymen have covered themselves with glory in that region. I admire bravery in all men of whatever nation." Smith heard him say what I

¹ Sir Philip Francis, the probable author of *Junius*.

have mentioned. In going through the First Consul's private apartments at the Tuileries, he observed the busts of Fox and Lord Nelson on each side of the chimney-piece in one of the rooms.

Talleyrand's mistress, Madame Grand, is the divorced wife of a Mr. Grand who was in our civil employment at Calcutta. She was divorced on account of an intrigue with Francis, in an action of crim. con. against whom before Sir Elijah Impey the husband recovered 10,000*l.* damages. It is singular that Impey, Francis, Madame and Mr. Grand are now at Paris. Grand is an Englishman, but of Swiss extraction.¹

Sept. 10, Friday, 10 a.m., Pay Office.—At the levee on Wednesday I stood by the Chancellor and Addington. He [the King] complimented them both on their looks, and said it was a comfortable thing to him to see his two sheet anchors so sound.

Sept. 27, Monday, 8 a.m., Pheasantry.—Wilson told us yesterday some strange circumstances of Prince Augustus, the Duke of Sussex.

He had sent over Edward Fraser, one of his equerries, to negotiate a sort of treaty with Lady Augusta, by which he was to pay her debts and settle 2,000*l.* a year upon her, on condition that she should relinquish all pretensions to be considered as his wife, and should also agree to part with the eldest son. (The Prince does not acknowledge the last child.) While Fraser was on his passage to England on this business, her brother, Jack Murray, a captain in the Navy, arrived under a feigned name at Lisbon, and went directly on Sunday to the Prince's house. The sentry and several servants having denied him admittance, he pushed by them, and advanced till he met a sort of page or groom of the chambers, to whom he told his name and insisted on seeing the Prince, who first sent word he

¹ The intrigue took place in 1778, when Madame Grand was only sixteen. After the action in which the damages, according to the *D.N.B.*, were 50,000 rupees, she lived for a time under her lover's protection, but left India before him. Talleyrand met her at Hamburg and took her to Paris in 1796. In 1803, having been secularised by a papal brief, he married her.

would not see him, and afterwards that he was then gone out. Murray, however, sending him word that as he had come from England on purpose nothing on earth should make him return without seeing him, the Prince admitted him. Murray told him he had come to desire or require of him to disavow certain things to the injury of his sister's honour which his Royal Highness had been represented to have said of her. The Prince was easily persuaded to make the disavowal and accordingly sent Murray next morning a paper for that purpose. This paper Murray states to have contained nearly what was satisfactory, but as it did not entirely come up to what he wished, he resolved to take a fuller disavowal which he had prepared himself and to make the Prince sign it. He went to the Prince, who signed it immediately, and Murray set sail again forthwith for England. On his arrival the negotiation I have mentioned was in train, and he has been persuaded not to produce his paper at present as it might mar the business which Livingston has been employed to engage Lady Augusta to consent to.

We had frequently mentioned to Wilson Fox's unfriendly conduct towards Lord Guilford in remaining for years without calling upon him. I happened to say something on that subject the other night, when Wilson said he was glad it had occurred, as it gave him an opportunity of justifying Fox; that he himself had been very scandalised at this supposed neglect and want of feeling, and had spoken of it accordingly, but that he had been informed by authority indisputable of a circumstance which was the cause of his not calling on Lord Guilford, which not only exculpated Fox but was highly to his honour; that if he was at liberty to tell us the circumstance he was certain we should entertain the same opinion, but that it was not possible for him to mention it to us. I asked how it happened then that Fox could, consistent with this reason, call on Lord Guilford (as he did) to settle their political conduct, while the present administration was forming, and during the King's last illness. He said he believed the circumstance he meant had ceased about that time. He added that this remarkable circumstance was quite

unknown to Lord Guilford and did not at all concern him or his conduct in any respect.

Our conjecture is that Coutts, whose folly and wrong-headedness about Fox is notorious, had taken steps to bring about a marriage between his daughter Fanny and Fox; that she had consented (having since proved by marrying the father of her former lover and a man who might be her grandfather that her hand was more at the disposal of her ambition than of her heart) but that Fox was conscious of the insuperable difficulty of being already married to Mrs. Armistead, for he has lately declared that his marriage with her dates eight years back from this time. Lady Bute's marriage with Lord Bute¹ having taken place a considerable time before Fox's visit to Lord Guilford and he having lived more than a year after that visit without its having been renewed (as far as ever I heard) leaves some doubt on that solution.

Oct. 6, Wednesday, 6.30 a.m., Star Inn, Oxford.—We arrived at Park Place on Monday to dinner and stayed there till two o'clock yesterday. We found there only Lord Malmesbury, his daughter Lady Frances, a charming person, and the sensible and agreeable Miss Cosens. Park Place is certainly one of the finest and most beautiful places in England. It belonged formerly to Lord Archibald Hamilton, and Sir William Hamilton was born there. Lord Archibald sold it a great many years ago to Marshal Conway, whose executors sold it to Lord Malmesbury. He paid for it 29,000*l.*, and has since bought more land adjoining to the amount of 20,000*l.* more. He has a large and handsome library.

On Wednesday last—Michaelmas day—I drove over in the morning to Addiscombe to converse with Lord Liverpool on the subject of some propositions for a commercial treaty which the Swedish Minister has delivered to Lord Hawkesbury, or rather to Lord Hervey, for I perceive from many circumstances that he takes a great deal upon him in the conduct of foreign

¹ Frances Coutts, the banker's second daughter, was married in September, 1800, to John, first Marquess of Bute, as his second wife. Lord Bute was only fifty-six at the time. Her sister Susan had married the third Earl of Guilford.

affairs, and indeed I believe his sister [Lady Hawkesbury] and he interfere a great deal in Lord Hawkesbury's business, who has more understanding but is less dashing and more timid. I believe Lady Hawkesbury's interference is chiefly with respect to appointments and patronage. I cannot help thinking she had a considerable share in the nomination of Lord St. Helens.

Lord Liverpool told me the history of the late dispute with the French about the libels published against that Government by Pelletier in his *Ambigu* and in our English papers.

It seems Otto delivered a most singularly insolent paper to Lord Hawkesbury, by order of his Government, about the time when I first heard of the business. Lord Hawkesbury brought it to Addiscombe and consulted his father on what was to be done. He advised him in the first instance to send for Otto and try to persuade him to withdraw it, as being in a style totally unprecedented. All, however, that Lord Hawkesbury could obtain was the substitution of the word *solliciter* for *demandeur*, which was in the original note and which certainly sounds much more peremptory to an English ear, although the French, especially in their late style, use the word *demandeur* in the simple meaning of asking or desiring, for which idea *solliciter* seems even too humble a word. The substantial insolence of the note, however, still remained, and before it was taken into consideration by the Cabinet Lord Liverpool drew up an elaborate paper as heads of an answer which he sent to his son. This was submitted to the Cabinet and greatly approved of, and, after some alterations suggested by the Chancellor was transmitted to Merry, not to be delivered as an official paper, but to be used by him in an audience of Talleyrand, as the substance of the orders of his Court, whom he was to represent as having declined giving any official answer to so improper a paper as that communicated by Otto.

Merry executed these orders, and delivered to Talleyrand, but only as the substance of what he himself had said, a translation of the greatest part of the paper transmitted to him, but with the omission, as Lord Liverpool says, of a concluding paragraph, in which he thinks the dignity of this country had been very

successfully maintained. He cannot tell why Merry left out this part. Talleyrand in discussing the subject with Merry talked a great deal of general language about the law of nations as superior to the municipal law of whatever country, and as being consequently entitled to control it. He took Merry's paper, but had not last Wednesday returned any answer to it. A long tirade on the subject of the "Liberty of the English Press" which appeared in the *Journal des Défenseurs de la Patrie*, a demi-official paper, and was inserted in last Thursday's *True Briton*, appears to me to have been meant as a sort of reply to Merry's paper, as it contains much the same topics (with many others, however) which Lord Liverpool states Talleyrand to have used in his conversation with Merry.

Lord Liverpool says he and Lord Hawkesbury were for sending Pelletier out of the country, but that as that must have been the act of Lord Pelham, he when it was proposed to him made difficulties about doing it under the Alien Act of last year, and went, as Lord Liverpool thinks, privately to the Chancellor and got him to concur in opinion with him, *i.e.* the Chancellor thinks it was not within the intention and purview of the Act to enable the King to send aliens out of the kingdom for abusing foreign Governments, that this Act was only a modification of the former, and that the object they had in view was merely the removal of foreigners who should come among us and plot the subversion of our own Government.

It seems though the Attorney General has given notice of or has actually commenced a prosecution against Pelletier, he still continues to publish his *Ambigu*, having declared in one of the numbers that if he did not run the risk of going to jail in that way, he must go there for debt.

On Thursday last Fawkeners gave me a curious history of a dinner at the Prince of Wales's, where the company was the Prince, the Duke of York (who had not dined there before for a long time), Sir Ralph and Sir Robert Abercromby, Dundas, Fawkeners, Craufurd, and Fordyce. It was on the day when the King struck Fox out of the Privy Council.¹ The conversation

¹ May 9, 1798.

had nothing particular in it till about 9 or 10 o'clock when the Prince asked Dundas if they should have coffee or another bottle of wine. Dundas said, "If your Royal Highness is not engaged, another bottle." Soon after this, Dundas told the Prince what he had not before mentioned, that Fox's name had been struck out of the list of Privy Counsellors. The Prince expressed immediately a very strong dissatisfaction with this measure and talked of it as an affront to himself in the person of a friend, and also as highly impolitic. Dundas defended it, and a debate ensued between them which lasted till between three and four in the morning, in which according to Fawkeners they both talked much nonsense, but the Prince most. He said he never heard worse reasoning in better language, that the Prince would sometimes put two or three tolerable sentences together, but could not maintain that tone and fell into mere balderdash without expression or argument, but always with a sort of emphatic speechifying manner and in tirades. None of the others said anything. The Duke of York snored and Sir R. Abercromby shammed sleep.

Fawkeners had no opinion of the Prince's understanding, but says the Prince thinks highly of it and that he conceives himself particularly to have great penetration into characters and great quickness and readiness in learning men's private histories, and views, and their particular passions and foibles. With this vanity he will be a most difficult master for any Minister. I was mentioning these opinions of the Prince to Lord Malmesbury (merely as those of persons who know him well) and he concurred in them entirely but added that there is one other circumstance in the Prince's character which if a Minister shall know how to avail himself of, will give him a regular dominion over him. He says he is an arrant coward, and that by frightening him he can be made to do anything. Fox he says knows this part of his character thoroughly.

Lord Malmesbury told me some interesting circumstances about the great King of Prussia, and about Maret, the present Secretary of the French Consulate.

He says he never knew any person who gave such an

irresistible impression of superiority of talents as the King of Prussia ; that he mostly did business directly with the foreign Ministers himself without the intervention of his own Ministers, that he affected no dignity or state in conversing *tetê-à-tête* but entered into familiar discussion as *de pair en pair*, that his manner was particularly kind and engaging as well as the expression of his countenance, which in his youth had been handsome, but that he always carried his point with you, satisfying you that he ought to carry it ; that he had sometimes gone to him with what appeared to him so strong a case that he thought he must convince him and succeed, but that he never left him *sans lui donner gain de cause*.

He told me an odd story of that odd person Lady Mary Coke.¹ When the King of Prussia was young, and while his father lived, he and his first cousin the late Princess Amelia of England fell in love with each other on report (for they had never met) and were going to run away together and be married. Lady Mary Coke was the confidant of the Princess, but the old King, who detested his brother-in-law, George II, having discovered their intention, shut his son up, threatened to put him to death, and actually did put to death several persons who had taken a part in assisting the Prince. Fifty years afterwards Lady Mary came to Berlin while Sir James Harris² was Minister there, at a time when the King was in retreat at Potsdam. She pressed Sir James to present her to the King, but he assured her that on those occasions it was impossible. Well, she would at all events go to Potsdam, and he gave her letters to Lord Marischal, etc., but she could not be introduced.

It seems the King went every day at a fixed hour to pass some time in his gallery of pictures. Lady Mary learnt this, and got there about an hour before the King's time, pretending to come to see the collection. As the time for the King's arrival

¹ A daughter of the second Duke of Argyll, she married Edward, Viscount Coke, who died before he could inherit the earldom of Leicester. Her married life lasted but six years, her widowhood nearly sixty, during which she was noted for an extravagance of conduct which verged on insanity.

² *i.e.* the Earl of Malmesbury.

approached, the attendant warned her that she must retire. She said bye-and-bye, immediately, and drew out the time till at last the King came to the door. On seeing a lady there, he looked surprised and asked in German of the attendant how it happened, who answered that he had found it impossible to get her to retire. The King then addressed himself to her, saying, "Je demande pardon, Madame, mais c'est ma coutûme de ne vouloir trouver personne ici quand j'y suis." "Je le sais," answered Lady Mary, "mais je viens vous voir de la part d'une princesse qui devoit se marier avec vous il-y-a cinquante ans." On this the King's countenance softened. He entered into a long conversation with her, which was renewed several times during several days she stayed there, receiving many marks of attention from the King. Lady Mary boasted of her success in obtaining an interview, when she returned to Berlin, but never told Lord Malmesbury the subject of their conversations.

The old King of Prussia, as I have mentioned, detested his brother-in-law George II. When he was dying the Lutheran pastor who attended him told him he could not get to Paradise without forgiving all his enemies. "Is that certain?" said the King. "Most certain," replied the priest. "En ce cas-là," said the King, turning to his Queen who was in the room, "Dorothée,¹ écrivez à votre frère que je lui pardonne, mais prenez garde de ne le faire qu'après ma mort."

Lord Malmesbury thinks Prince Henry was much inferior in all respects to his brother, and observed truly that his testament, which has been published, would disgrace a washer-woman. He says he was flattered by the French philosophers into their system, and that one day when he was last in Germany, having waited on the present Duke of Brunswick immediately after Prince Henry had left him, the Duke said to him, "Je viens de recevoir la visite d'un Jacobin en manteau royal."

Maret² was of the first mission at Lisle with Lord Malmesbury. He found him sensible and disposed to peace. They used to converse familiarly together. One day Maret said to

¹ Sophia Dorothy, only daughter of George I, who married Frederick William III of Prussia.

² Napoleon's secretary, the Duc de Bassano.

him, "Nous nous sommes rencontrés autrefois." Lord Malmesbury said (what was true) that he never remembered having seen him. On which Maret asked him if he did not recollect the following circumstances. Le Brun, afterwards *Ministre des relations extérieures*, was before the Revolution *editeur* of the *Gazette d' Evoe* [?], a paper which had a great vogue on the Continent, and Lord Malmesbury had paid him for inserting essays and paragraphs favourable to this country. In one of these gazettes something having appeared very hostile to England, on that occasion Lord Malmesbury, being in that part of the world, sent for Le Brun to scold him. Le Brun, ashamed to go himself, sent a young man who assisted him in his journal, and who having made the best defence he could, Lord Malmesbury treated him with great indulgence and civility. Lord Malmesbury said he recollected the whole perfectly. "Then," says Maret, "I was that young man. I am the son of the *secrétaire perpetuel* of the Academy of Dijon, a man of letters and character, who wishing to improve me thought I might derive advantage from assisting Le Brun in the compilation of his journal."

When Le Brun came into office during the Revolution, he employed Maret under him, and he was sent over here, as I well remember, during Chauvelin's mission. I think I saw him once at Madame de Flahault's. He took great pains to save her husband, and generally bore with the French I then used to see the character of a gentleman and a humane as well as able person.

He said to Lord Malmesbury, "You may learn from Mr. Pitt whether my dispositions are pacific." Lord Malmesbury asked Mr. Pitt (in one of his letters from Lisle). Mr. Pitt in return sent him a minute he had taken of a long interview with Maret, by which it appeared that he had been very earnest to preserve peace and Pitt said he believed him to have been sincere. He came a second time as far as Canterbury, but Lord Grenville ordered him back. Many think if he had been suffered to proceed to London the war would have been prevented.

Luckily for Maret he had been sent with Semonville¹ on his Embassy and arrested with him, otherwise he would have been guillotined at the same time with Le Brun.

Oct. 8, Friday, 9.30 a.m., *Compton Murdac, or Verney, the seat of Lord Willoughby de Broke, 10 miles from Warwick and 9 from Wroxton.*—We got here yesterday to dinner from Wroxton.

We had employed Tuesday from 11 to 2 at Oxford, lounging about the Colleges, particularly Christ Church, where Fred North and many of my friends were educated, Trinity College (founded by Lady Glenbervie's ancestor, Sir Thomas Pope, Earl of Downe,² and who endowed it among other estates with that of Wroxton Abbey which the Guilford family only hold under a College lease) and Exeter and Balliol Colleges, Exeter from respect to Barnes.

There are, over the gates of Trinity College, the North as well as the Pope arms. Lady Glenbervie's father (and I believe grandfather and great-grandfather) and also her elder brother were educated at Trinity College.

We got to Wroxton to a late dinner, and passed yesterday forenoon in going over the grounds, visiting the family monuments in the church, and looking at the apartments where Lady Glenbervie had spent every autumn during her childhood and early life, and the large collection of curious and interesting portraits of her ancestors, most of them worthy, and many of them distinguished and illustrious characters. The best is a large picture of the Keeper, Lord Guilford, by Riley, which seems to have been painted the year before he died, and strongly represents the depressed state of his mind at that time.³ These scenes affected poor Lady Glenbervie very much, but on the

¹ In 1793 the Marquis de Semonville and Maret were sent by the French Republic on a mission to Italy, but were arrested in the Grisons by order of the Governor of Milan and imprisoned, first at Mantua, afterwards at Kuffstein, where they remained until the end of 1795.

² It was not Sir Thomas, the founder of Trinity College, but his nephew William Pope who was created Earl of Downe.

³ Francis, first Baron North, was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal from December, 1682, until his death in September, 1685. He had been ill for some months and had wished to resign.

whole it was no unpleasing melancholy and she rejoices that she went there. I know not whether I ought not in some respect to take blame to myself that her father's monument is not yet erected in the church, but I could hardly interfere to press it while the late Lord lived and, being his mother's co-executor, was naturally entitled to direct in such a matter.

We regretted very much that Fred was not with us to contemplate the haunts and countenances of his maternal ancestors, sights which I know would inspire the proper sentiments in him.

Oct. 9, Saturday, 8 p.m., Aston Hall.—We left Compton at 8 this morning, breakfasted at the Warwick Arms at Warwick (kept by Mrs. Hall, an old maid of Maria, the first Lady Guilford) and saw the Castle, the most magnificent as well as the finest and most beautiful place I believe in the world. We arrived at this fine old place at 3 o'clock. The house was built in the reigns of James I and Charles I.

I have resumed, during this journey, the frequently interrupted perusal of Pindar.

Oct. 13, Wednesday, 10 a.m., Sandwell.—We came here on Monday to dinner. We are going this morning to see Mr. Boulton's mint, etc.,¹ at Soho, and are to proceed to-morrow, through Litchfield, to Blithfield.

Oct. 14, Thursday, 12 midday, Litchfield.—We saw Boulton's grounds (which are very pretty) and his mint to great advantage yesterday, the day being extraordinarily bright and fine. We also saw Eddington's paintings on glass. He is an able successor to Jervais.² Among other things he showed us one of twelve full-length colossal pictures which he is to copy intended for the twelve windows of a room called the Baron's Hall which the Duke of Norfolk is fitting up at Arundel Castle. The one

¹ Matthew Boulton, silversmith and engineer, who, as James Watt's partner, played a large part in the production of the steam engine. His mint for copper coins was started in 1788, and in 1805, when he was 77, he supplied the new mint on Tower Hill with machinery which was in use until 1882.

² Thomas Jervais (d. 1799), whose glass work was much admired, especially the windows which he made, from the designs of Reynolds and West respectively, for New College chapel and St. George's, Windsor.

we saw is meant to represent Bigod, one of the Barons who signed Magna Charta. Howard of Corby sat for it. The other eleven are also to represent as many of those Barons. The twelve are to fill one side of the Hall opposite the chimney,¹ and at one end is to be a marble representation of King John granting the Charta and, at the other, the Charta itself engraved on marble.

We are now going to see this Cathedral, whose front and three beautiful spires form a most striking object in entering the town the way we came.

Oct. 16, Saturday, 9 a.m., Blithfield.—On Thursday we found at this place, Lord Bagot, his two brothers, Charles and Richard, his mother, sister of the late and niece of the famous Lord Bolingbroke, his sister Miss Fanny Bagot, and Miss Kitty Chester, and there arrived to dinner yesterday Mrs. Sneyd (the old and intimate friend of Lady Glenbervie, and the friend of the Royal Family, particularly the Princesses Elizabeth and Mary), sister to Lord Bagot, with her husband Walter Sneyd, and Mr. Western, an Opposition member of the House of Commons, and his mother, who seem, like ourselves, to be on a tour in this country.

Lord Bagot is crusting his walls and gateways with Wyatt's² or Parker's stucco in Gothic architecture, in nearly [the same] style of arches, windows and so forth, with what Wyatt is doing at Windsor Castle, and under his direction I believe. The finer part of the ornaments are executed by two Italians of the name of Bernasconi.

The interior of the house is large and commodious, though scrambling. Some of the rooms, as the south-east drawing-room, are handsome, and the dining hall is lofty and magnificent. Part of the building is more than six hundred years old, and the windows and walls are covered with the pictures or emblazoned

¹ The Baron's Hall, a conscientious piece of modern Gothic, was begun in 1806 and opened in 1815 with a ceremony in honour of the sixth centenary of *Magna Carta*. According to the account in Horsfield's *Sussex* the windows were designed by Mr. J. Lonsdale and executed by Mr. Joseph Backler, "both of deserved eminence in their several branches of the art."

² James Wyatt, R.A., the pioneer of the Gothic revival.

arms of the Bagots, Staffords (a name this branch of the family took for some time from having married the heiress of Stafford), the Blithfields, from whom, by a like marriage, they inherited this place, etc. There is also, however, a very good collection of Italian pictures, in high preservation. Among the rest, in the best drawing room, a third original, or at least, a very fine copy of the three Marys of Hannibal Caracci. It was bought by the late Lord Bagot of a person to whom it had been left by the will of Dr. Mead¹ for 70*l*. Lord Bagot is persuaded that it is the third of the three originals which are known to have been painted by Caracci. One of the other two was in the Orleans Collection and now belongs to Lord Carlisle, the other is somewhere abroad, the third had long been missing. In what is called the old drawing room there is a large picture, which may be ranked in either class, of family or Italian pictures, being an original portrait by Giorgione of Humphry Stafford, or Bagot, Duke of Buckingham,² etc.

There is a great air of English grandeur and beauty too in the general aspect of this place, and the surrounding grounds and woods.

The three young men are well-bred and obliging and seem good-natured and good-tempered. Lord Bagot has a manner too effeminate, and both Charles, who is studying the law, and Richard, who is meant for the Church,³ are coxcombs in dress and manner to a degree of affectation, bringing to one's mind those characters in the age before our time who used to have the term beau affixed to their names, as Beau Fielding, in England, and Beau Skene, Beau Seaton and Beau Foster, in Scotland. Charles, who is very handsome and lively and has a very good understanding, speaks a little in the bobadil style

¹ Richard Mead, a famous physician and patron of literature, who died in 1754.

² Killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460.

³ Charles entered Lincoln's Inn in 1801, but took to politics and diplomacy, in which he had a distinguished career. He was appointed Governor-General of Canada, where he inaugurated representative government, in 1841. Richard entered the Church and was successively Bishop of Oxford and of Bath and Wells.

of William Gardiner, and is not unlike him in his general manner and deportment.

Lady Glenbervie and Lady Dartmouth had a great deal of conversation about the Prince and Princess of Wales. They are both perfectly persuaded the Prince is married to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and Lady Dartmouth says he has declared to some of his friends that when his father dies he will certainly divorce the Princess. One day when he was making this declaration to a person in his confidence, the other asked him what he would do with the young Princess. He answered that she would make a very pretty duchess. What seeds of domestic confusion, and too probably of civil war! These circumstances and many others of a similar kind, with all the vices, weaknesses and habits of our Heir Apparent cannot but be as well known to the French Government as they are here. The emigrants have had but too good opportunities of learning them, and will be but too much tempted to make their peace, or to court favour at home, by making them known.

It was a strange and wicked thing in Mrs. Fitzherbert, if she is actually married to the Prince, to resist the urgent application he made to her to come back to him, before his marriage to the Princess. It seems their subsequent reconciliation did not take place till the Queen sent a message herself to Mrs. Fitzherbert pressing her to it. It is believed the Queen took this step from an apprehension that the Prince would go distracted if it did not happen. With this additional danger how dreadful is the prospect of the future fate of this country. Yet I believe there is something so sound and tough in the British character (whether arising from our laws and constitution of Government, our insular situation, the mixed race of men from whom we are sprung, or from several or all of those causes co-operating) that we shall weather whatever storm shall assail us, and that we shall be found *adversis rerum immersabiles undis*.

Oct. 18, Monday, 2 p.m., Blithfield.—Lord Bagot has a very curious and valuable collection of ancient medals in complete series, gold, silver and copper, and Grecian, Roman and Carthaginian, which was formed by Mr. Lefroy, a merchant at Leghorn,

and brother-in-law to my old and valued friend Benjamin Langlois. It was sold by Lefroy to the late Mr. Anson, who left it to Lord Bagot's father. There is a printed Latin catalogue compiled by Venuto or Venuti.

Lady Glenbervie mentioned yesterday to Mrs. Sneyd that Sir George Baker told her uncle Mr. Williams, that nothing can be more ignorant than the Willises, particularly old Willis, that their only medicine is the strait-waistcoat and that they generally employ that improperly. On this Mrs. Sneyd told her (which I have heard before) that the King cannot bear the name of any of the family, and that he ascribes the weakness which he now complains of in his limbs to their severity during his illnesses. She says they used to beat him most violently.

On Saturday the party here was joined, to dinner, by Lady Bromley and Mr. Robert Curzon, a son and daughter of Lord Curzon. He is member for Clitheroe.

Lord Curzon's present wife is a sister of the late Sir William Meredith, and of Lady Frederick Campbell, who was the widow of Washington, Earl Ferrers,¹ who was hanged. She is his third wife, and it is said that one day the King on occasion of some other person's marriage having said to him that he believed that pair had married on an unusual day, he replied that he did not think there was any positive rule about the day, but that for his own part he generally married of a Thursday.

¹ Not Washington (the name of his brother and successor) but Laurence, fourth Earl Ferrers, who murdered his steward and was hanged at Tyburn in 1760. Lady Frederick Campbell was accidentally burned to death in 1807.

Jan. 3, Monday, 11 p.m., Pheasantry.—Robinson¹ died and Mr. Hiley Addington was gazetted in my stead for the Pay Office 1st January. I had the option of that place or Robinson's and, after long consultation with Lady Glenbervie, Lord Minto, Adam, Wilson and Trail, and much unpleasant discussion with Addington, I decided for the latter as most secure. They have been plotting to find a pretext to give my paymastership to Hiley Addington ever since their Government had any appearance of stability.

Otto is gone and Andréossy,² an engineer, who has not at all such good manners as his predecessor, is arrived as ambassador. I dined with him one day at Lord Pelham's.

Pitt is said to be well. He made a coasting voyage from Bath a few days ago, stopping at Longleat, Park Place (where William Elliot met him, I suppose not quite by chance on Elliot's part) Dropmore, and then avoiding London, crossed the country to Long's at Bromley, where he is to stay till Monday and then proceed to Lady Essex's at Cassiobury. Addington had told me and others that he was to dine with him on Thursday at Richmond Park; afterwards that he was to see him that day in town. The day after, at a Council at Windsor where I assisted, he told the Duke of Cumberland that he had a letter from him that day and that he was not to be in town till Thursday next, 6th January. All this and the strange discourses of

¹ John Robinson, who had been Surveyor-General of Woods and Forests since 1787. For Glenbervie's wish to succeed him in that office, as he now did, see p. 162.

² Antoine François, Comte d'Andréossy, who had served in Napoleon's Egyptian campaign as chief of brigade.

Canning and his clique in Parliament, the strange call of the Grenvilles, Windham, etc., for the return of Pitt in both Houses, the tacit disapprobation of this by Ryder, Steele and others, Pitt's earlier and more steady friends, lastly the apparent confidence of Addington, occasion the most puzzling speculations with those who are as little in the secret as I am. Addington continued to the last to flirt with Tierney¹ and Sheridan, and Tom Maitland² has spoken as a man enlisted. I hear to-day that Lauderdale is to be a peer.³ Grey has not attended, nor Dundas, who just before the recess has been created Viscount Melville. All this paltry work is going on while Buonaparte with Tarquin's ravishing strides advances towards his design of attacking us. Our Ministers hardly put on a bold countenance at home, or to their friends. In foreign Cabinets they dare not utter a word of reproach, complaint or representation.

The King had been on horseback on Friday. He seemed well, but we were not in the room ten minutes. Mrs. Sneyd, who was in the house with him for a month just before Christmas, told Lady Glenbervie in confidence her opinion that the King is well at present but that if the Catholic question or the return of Lord Grenville were to be pressed upon him he would certainly relapse.

He never sees his Ministers (ever since Parliament sat) but on levee days before or after the levee, *i.e.* before Christmas, only once in a fortnight. They used to have audiences three times a week in Parliament time. How can the business go on? The Ministers are making themselves more than usually responsible, at a period more than usually critical.

¹ George Tierney, originally an opponent of Pitt, with whom he fought a duel, had joined Addington's Government as Treasurer of the Navy. President of the Board of Control in "All the Talents," he was henceforward identified with the Grenvillite Whigs, leading the party in the Commons from 1817 to 1821. But he held office under Canning and Goderich.

² Lord Lauderdale's brother. At this time M.P. for Haddington Burghs, but better known as a soldier and the able but autocratic Governor of Malta (1813) and High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1815-24), where he was known as "King Tom."

³ James Maitland, eighth Earl of Lauderdale, did not receive an English peerage until 1806.

Wilson hears, and it comes from the Willises, that when the King takes violent exercise in hunting it is sure to bring back his disorder and that he has often had attacks of it which were concealed. That there has been a serious talk of a Regency at the King's house at Windsor very lately. Since the last attack the Willises have never seen the King and it seems he has taken an insurmountable dislike to them.

Jan. 5, Wednesday, Pay Office.—Wilson's intelligence is from the Dampiers, whose families are intimate with Doctor Willis, junior, the rector of Bloomsbury, and who has told him that the origin of the King's dislike to them was founded in his madness. That when he was at Cuffnells in the summer 1781 [?] one of the Willises, who was there with him, thought it necessary, to avoid a return of a cold which must produce a relapse, to insist on the King standing by a large fire when he changed his shirt. This it seems the King objected to, but obeyed, and according to their story he thought then and continues to believe and declare that their intention was to burn him alive. I think this account is at least not the whole truth. Mrs. Sneyd says the whole family complain of the unnecessary brutality of the Willises to the King, that they often beat him violently, and that he ascribes the weakness which he has felt ever since his last illness to their ill treatment.

Jan. 1, Sunday, 9 a.m., Pheasantry.—I must, as on many other occasions, refer to my correspondence, to fill up the chasm of near a year. That year has in general been very uncomfortable to me. When I quitted the Pay Office I ceased in truth to hold what is considered to be an eminent place in the Government of the country. My discussions on that occasion were of an unpleasant sort. I retained indeed the place of Vice-President of the Committee for Trade, which ought to be a situation of great consequence, but from a variety of causes has never been so, but notwithstanding what passed between Addington and me at Eastbourne no communication, or cordiality, took place on the part of Government, respecting their measures in Parliament. My health and spirits became very indifferent, and I attended very seldom in the House of Commons. I also went very seldom to Court. I had observed the King's manner towards me to have grown much colder.

I impute this to two causes. He is supposed to possess a very considerable share of that art which James I, I believe, used to call by the coarse but forcible term of kingcraft. While Lady Glenbervie's elder brother lived, his talents, his turn for politics, and his being the representative of his father, had created a considerable wish in his Majesty and his present Minister to gain him to their party. When the new Administration was formed great advances were made to him, through various channels. He had declared pretty openly that he concurred in opinion with them (and the King) in hostility to the Reform of Parliament, and the repeal of the Test Act, and he was also friendly to peace. His health was at that time not

desperate. He had been able to go sometimes to the House of Lords. He seemed to have a desire to be Secretary of State, if he could be able to do the business of that office, but he said to me one day that he certainly thought he could execute the duties of Lord President. In the meantime the Ministry acquired some sort of consistency, notwithstanding the general opinion of the fragility of the materials.

Fox would either not treat, or probably the King would not hear of any treaty with him, and it soon had appeared that Lord Guilford would not detach himself from him. In the course of the summer his health grew worse, and before the meeting of the next session of Parliament it became highly improbable that he should ever recover or be able to attend to public business. He died in the following spring (April, 1802) and as to political weight, it was universally considered that his successor would be nearly a mere nullity. I never had had the unwarranted conceit of myself to suppose that the gracious attention of the King, and the desire the Minister had manifested of placing me in some conspicuous situation of Government, had proceeded from their estimation of any personal value belonging to me. But they thought while there were hopes of Lord Guilford, that the name of North would still draw a considerable following, and that a person so nearly connected with the family and known to live on such terms of affection with them all might be worth putting forward to a certain degree, if his character and qualifications could pass muster. The King's long conversations with me at the levee had generally turned on the subject of my father-in-law, once his favourite Minister, and Addington could scarcely ever see me without broaching the same subject, and adding enquiries about the health of the son. But all the kindness or civility, such as it was, had gradually cooled in the course of the year 1802. And, from the time of my shifting from the Pay Office to the Surveyorship of the Woods and Forests, I have scarcely been honoured with a word from his Majesty, beyond some hackneyed observation on the weather, and that generally among the last he speaks to at his levees. Addington certainly communicated

to him a good deal of what passed between us on the discussions which we had together about the option of choosing between the Pay Office and the Surveyorship, and he owed to me that he had mentioned to him my hope that the other half of my pension should be continued to Lady Glenbervie. He did so on the occasion of a Council I attended at Windsor soon after I was appointed Surveyor General, and I found from what he told me on his coming from an audience previous to the Council that this suggestion had been very ill-received. This may serve to show the sincerity or extent of his Majesty's regard for the memory and family of Lord Guilford.

A convincing proof of my present disfavour is that though the office I hold is connected with some of the objects and scenes of the King's favourite amusements and habitual occupations, his Parks, farming, planting, and building, he has not only never ordered me to attend him on any of the business belonging to it, but has never mentioned it or anything concerning it when he has seen me at St. James's.

Jan. 2, Monday, 9 a.m., Pheasantry.—I have scarcely ever known anybody more sparingly endowed with what is called an ear for music than myself, and, I suppose chiefly for that reason, I have never been able to comprehend even the most simple elementary writings on it as a science. The only tunes almost I can at all imitate so as to be guessed are "God save the King" and "Hosier's Ghost" or "Cease, rude Boreas," and it is merely guess when another person finds out that I mean either of these. I can distinguish country dances and very simple songs and airs, but I never could tell one minuet from another. This defect in me in the original frame of whatever part of man this faculty belongs to does not seem to arise from any imperfection in the grosser though more important sense of hearing. Besides I take pleasure, great pleasure, in hearing certain very simple tunes both gay and lively and even unaccompanied by words, but I not only do not relish but positively dislike complex music, vocal and instrumental, but particularly the latter. I also take great pleasure in hearing harmonious verse or prose read or recited by a good voice. My own voice

is I believe harsh or hard, has no compass, and is, as I myself can perceive, unmanageable, and I have sometimes thought that the imperfection in my musical ear arises from the want of cultivation, that this proceeds from the long daily though scarcely perceptible experience of an incapacity to modulate my *voice*, and to express musical compositions by it (owing to the ill construction of my vocal organs), the experience of such incapacity producing a less accurate attention to and interest in the modifications of sound by music.

This theory, if it deserves the name, is of course applicable to the case of other persons in the same predicament. I have mentioned it to some judges of music, who have been inclined to assent to it. I have, however, nearly an equal inaptitude for drawing and design. I never could make anything at all approaching to the likeness of a man, a bird or other animal, at least not nearer than what any child of six or eight years old will scrawl, without having some picture or design before me. This, from the same propensity to theorise, I have tried to account for by a certain impliability and awkwardness in my hands (probably from their configuration) joined to an inaccuracy of vision of which I was long conscious before my sight began to fail, which I first perceived so as to be forced to resort to glasses when I was forty-six years of age.

From whatever cause the inability to acquire those alluring accomplishments may have arisen, it has, in my case, as in that of most others, been attended with some advantages. Accomplishments are great tempters and are often known to interfere with serious pursuits and serious and important duties, and Shakespeare's severe reflection on those "who have not music in themselves," etc. (as he expresses it), has never seemed to me more than a piece of fine poetic declamation, by a man probably possessed of a very good ear. At the same time I am sensible of the disadvantages, the loss of much elegant gratification and much cheerful and lively intercourse in society from the want of the qualities in question, especially of an ear for music, and I by no means accede to the sentiments contained in Mr. Steevens's long prose declamation against the love of music

contained in his note on the passage of Shakespeare to which I have referred.

Jan. 7, Saturday, 2.30 p.m., Pheasantry.—Mr. Anthony St. Leger dined here yesterday with Harriet Chester, whom he is just going to be married to, and Miss Chester. He was a month at Paris in summer 1802, and was presented to Buonaparte the same day with Charles Fox. He had known Talleyrand very much formerly in society, a sister of his having married a Comte de Perigord, first cousin to Talleyrand. But he received him very [far] from civilly. He describes Buonaparte as little, of a sallow complexion, not at all an ignoble look, grave and thoughtful, but, as all agree, a peculiarly engaging smile. He talked a great deal with him. Young Francis¹ stood next him. He had been presented on a former day and was talking in raptures of the First Consul, particularly his smiles and courteousness. When Buonaparte came opposite to Francis, the latter made a ridiculously low bow, which is never done. But Buonaparte merely said to him, "*Vous êtes Anglois ?*" and walked past without more.

He received great civilities also from Madame Buonaparte, whom he had known formerly. He did not see Madame de Flahault (Souza), also a former acquaintance. He agrees with me in admiring her *Adèle de Senanges*. I told him I had written to her and heard from her last winter.

La Fayette was not at Paris. He says he is not at all considered. Cambacérès² showed him great civilities. The father of his brother-in-law Perigord had formerly held *les états de Languedoc*, and had then taken great notice of Cambacérès, who was a young avocat at Montpellier. In return since the Revolution Cambacérès had been very serviceable to old Perigord (who I think is since dead) and continues to be so to his son.

The day St. Leger was presented was at the same levee at

¹ Presumably Philip, the only son of Sir Philip Francis.

² Jean Jacques Cambacérès (afterwards Duc de Parme), second Consul. On the establishment of the Empire he became Arch-Chancellor and President of the Senate. The *Code Civil* was drawn up under his direction.

which Barthélemy harangued Buonaparte in the name of the Senate.¹

When he dined with the First Consul there were two hundred sat down to table, attended by a hundred servants, all in an uniform of green and gold, formerly the livery of the Comte d'Artois. There were but seven ladies present, of whom Madame Buonaparte and a sister of the First Consul were two. In addressing him he was styled "*Mon general.*" St. Leger says he speaks French without any foreign accent, and of this he is a better judge than most English people.

Jan. 10, Tuesday, 10 a.m., Pheasantry.—Mercer² has agreed to let his name be prefixed to his poems, on condition that mine shall be mentioned as the editor. Indeed I most willingly have acceded to this condition. I believe his poems will live among the classics of the language, and I feel happy in believing that my memory, the beauty and virtues of a dear departed sister, and the constant affection of all three to each other will by means of the two little advertisements be consigned to posterity.

Jan. 20, Friday, 1 p.m., Pheasantry.—We have been in town and slept there two nights, for the first time this winter. We went in order to attend the Queen's birthday. The King, being a little lame and in pain from rheumatism or gout in one of his legs, was not present at the drawing-room, and had been prevented by the same cause from going to the play the night before. Any illness of his brings with it of late a double alarm, both the fear of his death, and of a return of his malady. But he was at the Queen's card party in the evening, walking about (with a crutch) and afterwards played cards and seemed in good spirits. Those parties have been substituted for the last two or three birthdays in the place of the balls at St. James's.

The King certainly has his camp equipage and accoutrements quite ready for joining the army if the enemy should land, and he is quite keen on the subject and angry if any suggests that the attempt may not be made.

¹ François, Marquis de Barthélemy, was president of the deputation which offered Napoleon the consulship for life.

² James Mercer, Glenbervie's brother-in-law. See p. 304.

God forbid he should have the fate of Harold, to whom the French libels compare him.

I have in a manner determined to quit Parliament and reside entirely here. My time of life, my health, and my finances point out this measure.

Jan. 27, Friday, 10.30 a.m., Pheasantry.—We are going to dine to-day at Mr. Trevor's¹ at Richmond. We saw a great deal of them last autumn at Eastbourne. He has a great deal of that stiff politeness which a long diplomatic career is so apt to give. His parts are above par, and he is civil but not agreeable. She has still the remains of a most engaging countenance and manner, but too coaxing and adulatory, which by being perpetual and indiscriminating does not flatter. She has been much admired and fond of admiration, but she is now (as Lady Mount Edgumbe, the mother, said of herself when she was going to bed on the night of her marriage) more an object of pity than desire, for she is subject to frequent attacks of epilepsy to a great degree of violence, the fits depriving her of all sense for the time and having in some degree permanently affected her understanding.

Jan. 30, Monday, 10 p.m., Pheasantry.—Maria Gordon is to be married to-morrow at Hampton church, where I am to give her away, as proxy for her father, and to proceed to our house in town, and next day to the Deanery at Battle. Lady Glenbervie is much affected by the thoughts of losing her.

Jan. 31, Tuesday, 2 p.m., Pheasantry.—Maria Gordon and Dr. Birch were married by licence in Hampton church. The ceremony was performed by Mr. Portal, Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, a friend of Dr. Birch and his school-fellow at Merchant Taylors' School. The bride and bridegroom proceeded immediately to my house in Great George Street and will go to Battle to-morrow.

Feb. 12, Sunday, 8 p.m., Pheasantry.—Lady Glenbervie went to the drawing-room on Thursday the 9th. The King did not attend it, but it seems generally believed that his complaint is

¹ John Hampden-Trevor, who had been British Minister at Turin from 1783 to 1798. He succeeded his brother as third Viscount Hampden in 1824.

only lameness and pain in one of his legs either from gout or lameness.

The following scandalous anecdote I have reason to believe to be perfectly correct. Mr. Collen or Cullen Smith,¹ who married Lady Anne Fitzroy (first Lady Anne Wellesley)² has been long supposed to be, *au dernier point*, in the good graces of the Duchess of York. Lady Anne is one of the Duchess's Ladies of the Bedchamber. She and her husband are both very handsome and are fond of one another, but perhaps he does not think it consistent with modern gallantry, or courtly duty, to make the Duchess play the part of Potiphar's wife. The anecdote is, that the other day the Duke of York, having returned to Oatlands suddenly and unexpectedly, actually surprised the Duchess and Mr. Smith in the very fact. Violent fury on his part, and threats of an immediate divorce and public ignominy and disgrace. He immediately hastened to the King and told him the whole affair. The King said, "I am very sorry for it, Frederick. It is an infamous business, but it must be hushed up"—and it would seem that it is to be hushed up.

The foundling which was left at the Taylors' at Weymouth, about two years ago, is now in a manner admitted by the people about the Court to be the Princess Sophia's and, as the story generally goes, by General Garth, one of the King's equerries and a very plain man, with an ugly claret mark on his face. He has taken it from the Taylors and openly maintains it. But the Princess of Wales told Lady Sheffield the other day, that there is great reason to suspect the father to be the Duke of Cumberland. How strange and how disgusting. But it is a very strange family, at least the children—sons and daughters. For instance, Lady Sheffield was in attendance at Blackheath a few days ago, when the Queen with the Princesses Elizabeth and Sophia paid a morning visit to the Princess of Wales. While she was waiting with the two daughters, the Queen and the Princess of Wales having retired into another room, the Princess Elizabeth, after some common enquiries about Mrs. (Patty) Vernon, said, "Lady Sheffield, do you really believe

¹ Charles Culling Smith. ² Sister to the Duke of Wellington.

her to be a virgin ? ” (They had been before laughing at the stiffness and apparent prudery of the sister, Lady Harcourt.) “ Most certainly, Madam.” Then says the Princess Elizabeth turning to her sister, “ You know, Sophy, I always say I do not believe there is such [a thing] as a woman being a virgin, unless she stuff herself with lead.” The coarse, vulgar, stupid indecency of this speech shocked Lady Sheffield not a little.

It is now said the Queen knows the child to be the Princess Sophia’s, but that the King does not, but that the Queen thinks Garth the father.

Feb. 15, Wednesday, 11 a.m., Pheasantry.—The newspapers of this morning contain an alarming account of the King. It seems that yesterday morning it had been found necessary to send for Doctors Milman and Heberden, and Mr. Dundas of Richmond, and that at noon the following bulletin was issued, “ His Majesty is much indisposed to-day.” The nature of his complaint is not mentioned in either of my papers. I shall go to town to-morrow morning.

Feb. 17, Friday, 2 p.m., Pheasantry.—I went to town yesterday morning, and found the greatest alarm and consternation prevailing everywhere on account of the King’s illness. It is now universally understood to be an attack of his former malady, but accompanied, it is said, with many symptoms which threaten his life.

The Prince came to town on Saturday last, but is yet not recovered from the illness of which he had a very severe attack at Brighthelmstone, and which was occasioned it seems by an excessive debauch of eating and drinking. However, though still much indisposed, his people, since the King’s illness has been declared, are directed to say he is quite well. I heard, I think from good authority, that, on Monday last, the Duke of York went to visit his brother at Carlton House, but that, after having been made to wait a considerable time, he received either a note written by the Prince, or a message dictated by him, the purport of which was that, after the late correspondence between them, the Prince could not possibly see him.

Many people about the Court ascribe the King's present attack to the publication of that correspondence.¹

There are besides violent dissensions among his younger sons, which have affected him very much. A General Burton has lately been tried by a court martial on some charge about a duel, and the evidence which produced his conviction was a letter to the Duke of York and exhibited by him in support of the prosecution. This letter, Burton's friends say, was of a private, confidential nature, and his cause has been very warmly espoused by the Dukes of Clarence and Kent, and one day lately, before the King was taken ill, those two brothers and the Duke of York being with the King, the Duke of Kent is reported to have said to his Majesty, "Pray, Sir, what would your Majesty think of a man who should injure another by a breach of private confidence?" The King replied, "I know not why you put that question to me, but, as a general position, such a breach of confidence must be considered as very culpable and dishonourable." "Then," said the Duke of Kent, "my brother there," pointing to the Duke of York, "is the man who has been guilty of that culpable and dishonourable act." Here, it is said, a very furious altercation between the brothers ensued till the King, in great agitation, ordered them all out of the room.

Soon after Lady Sheffield had heard the Princess Elizabeth pronounce the strange opinion mentioned above about the scarcity of virgins, she happened to meet Mrs. Sneyd in a passage at St. James's and had just time to say to her that she never in her life heard from any woman such gross, strange language as she had lately heard used by her friend the Princess Elizabeth, when Mrs. Sneyd answered, "I am sure it can have been nothing to the daily style of her elder sister." What a respect this inspires for the family:

Feb. 19, Sunday, 7 p.m., Pheasantry.—I was in town yesterday and went to St. James's to write down my name and see the

¹ This correspondence related to the Prince's desire for active military employment, which the King had vetoed. The Duke of York was concerned in the matter as Commander-in-Chief.

bulletin of the day. All the pages, the Lord-in-Waiting and the Vice-Chamberlain (George Villiers)¹ attend from twelve to three exactly as on levee days. They have a copy of the bulletin and there are several others in the hands of the different pages and attendants to be shown to the vast numbers who go to make enquiries. Persons of any rank or consideration write down their names, and the lists are carried after three to the Queen.

The bulletin on Friday had been, "His Majesty has had a few hours sleep and seems much refreshed by it." It was signed (as it had been the day before) by Sir Francis Milman and Dr. Heberden. Yesterday the words were, "His Majesty is much as yesterday. *We do not apprehend him to be in danger,*" and it was signed by Sir Lucas Pepys, Doctor Reynolds, Milman and Heberden. But I find Doctor Simmons,² physician to Bedlam, also attends.

The King is said to have exacted a solemn promise from the Queen and Addington, after his last illness, in 1801, never to suffer the Willises to attend him in case of a relapse. It was the fashion with the courtiers whom I happened to see yesterday to represent the bulletin as very favourable, but I own I do not think it so. It seems to prove that the intellect is alone or chiefly affected. I understand that till the few hours sleep two nights ago, the physicians thought all hopes of a recovery in that respect were over, and I heard that the sleep had not produced any favourable alteration of that part of the malady.

I learnt yesterday that Lord Grenville, very lately, but before this attack of the King's, had pressed Pitt exceedingly to take an active part in forcing Addington and the present Ministry to quit their situations, representing their incapacity as notorious and the danger to the country on that account, under the circumstances of the times, to be so alarming as to render it the duty of every man of talents and experience to unite in endeavouring to save it. Pitt, however, has declared

¹ Afterwards fifth Earl of Jersey.

² Samuel Foart Simmons, who again attended the King in his more serious attack in 1811.

that he will not unite with Fox, and that he has powerful reasons for determining neither to join Addington nor systematically to oppose him. After a refusal on his part, Lord Grenville and the Grenville party are said at last to have formed a coalition with Fox. But, for some days at least, and until the matter of the King's state shall become unequivocal and incapable of concealment, all arrangements, negotiations and intrigues must in some degree be suspended.

The Prince is still very weak. Farquhar attends him, and, perhaps for that reason, I understand there is a negative on his attendance on the father. Some people about the Court are of opinion that the King's present attack has been chiefly owing to two causes, the publication of what is called the Royal Correspondence (which is known to have been the direct act of the Prince, contrary to the sound advice of the few sensible people he consults with, although he makes MacMahon and others of that description assert everywhere that it was done without his knowledge) and the loss of Hanover.

Buonaparte will, probably, reckon the present moment very favourable for his expedition, and the attempt seems to be expected with a stronger persuasion than it has been at any former time.

There is a strange story in circulation (and which after being current for some time in the world was noticed a few days ago in the newspapers) that Lord St. Vincent, on a surmise that Sir Sidney Smith carried on an improper correspondence with France, had directed all letters directed to him to be intercepted, and had even sent an officer on board his ship to search and examine his correspondence. That the officer on coming on board had said to Sir Sidney that he was ashamed of his errand, but that Sir Sidney had insisted on his executing his orders, and had shown him everything and had then gone into port with a view to demand an explanation, but that on his arrival a most peremptory order met him to set sail again immediately.

Feb. 22, Wednesday, 3 p.m., Pheasantry.—Lady Glenbervie and I dined in town yesterday, she with her sister Lady Sheffield

(Lord Sheffield being in Sussex with the legion he has raised in the Rape of North Pevensey).¹ I dined with Mr. Coutts Trotter.

The bulletin yesterday was that the King was much the same as he had been for the two last days, but the Lord and Groom-in-Waiting and the pages had been authorised to add that he had slept six hours. I find, however, his recovery is still held to be doubtful, and this week is to be suffered to pass before it shall be decided whether any communication shall be made or measure proposed to Parliament. The Grenvilles now acknowledge their junction (they will not call it coalition) with Fox. Windham avowed it to Lord Bayning, who told it to me. They have settled no preliminaries, nor had any explanation, further than having agreed to a joint co-operation for removing the present Ministry on the ground of incapacity. Lord Bayning asked him if he, Windham, made one of this junction. "Yes." "Will Pitt join you?" "No, he has too much sense." Strange. Pitt has positively declared against either joining Fox or engaging in a systematic opposition. He says he will act according to his own opinions as circumstances arise. It is understood that Fox is to be First Lord of the Treasury under the Prince, if he is appointed Regent.

I understand the King signed several warrants and papers yesterday.

The bulletin of to-day is, "The King has had a good night, and is rather better this morning."

One of the pages who has been longest about the Court is a man of the name of Compton. He is a favourite with the King, who frequently speaks to him. He said to him lately, in his hurried way, "Compton, have you any children?" "Yes, sir." "Sons or daughters?" "Only daughters." "Never have any sons. If you have there must be an eldest, and he will publish your letters."

Feb. 24, Friday, 11 a m., Pheasantry.—For the last two days the bulletins have continued favourable and also the private

¹ At this date fears of an invasion of England were at their height, and many volunteer defence corps were being raised.

accounts ; still, however, I believe some plan of a Regency is in agitation.

Feb. 25, Saturday, 8 p.m., Pheasantry.—Lord Auckland in a letter of yesterday says, “The bulletins do not keep pace with the general wishes of the public, but they have surpassed my expectations, and I am privately assured through the best authorities, that there is a fair prospect of a speedy and complete recovery.”

On the other hand Milne states the general report to-day to be that the malady has assumed “the appearance of childish weakness.”

Lord Auckland’s means of information are very good, but I do not like this report. The bulletin of to-day is, “His Majesty remains to-day much in the same state in which he was yesterday.”

March 1, Thursday, 8 a.m., Pheasantry.—From the bulletin of Sunday (26th February), in which it was stated “that any rapid amendment was not to be expected,” it was, I believe, generally supposed that some measure would be proposed the next day. However, on Monday morning the bulletin was far more favourable, and private accounts still more so, and on a motion by Sir Robert Lawley for the House to adjourn (if no communication should be made by Ministers), Addington having declared that he had the strongest reason to look for a very speedy and entire recovery, and that in the meantime his Majesty was at present capable where necessary of executing any of the functions of Royalty, the motion was negatived without a division.

Lord Minto, Wilson and Trail dined here on Sunday, and we all considered the bulletin of that day as a conclusive proof that an official communication and some sort of proposal for an arrangement in the nature of a Regency would be made on the Monday.

The bulletins have rather improved since.

It seems a reconciliation has taken place between the Prince and the Duke of York. The newspapers ascribe this to the good offices of Sheridan (who by-the-bye was not in the House

of Commons on Monday). My neighbour the Duke of Clarence I find has told the apothecary that he has the whole merit of it.

The House was very full on Monday from the general expectation. I was there for the second time this session.

This day feels to me always as a solemn anniversary. On the 1st of March, 1771, I became a settled inhabitant of London. I have now in a measure ceased to be so (having no dwelling of my own there), after a lapse of thirty-three years!

March 2, Friday, 1.30 p.m., Pheasantry.—We went to town yesterday to dine at Lord Auckland's, where we met only their own family and Lord and Lady Sheffield.

Lord Auckland heard the Chancellor say privately yesterday that he had just been at the Queen's House, and that the physicians had told him that if he had brought any papers necessary for the King to sign, that he might go into his room, and they would certainly be signed.

I found however yesterday that on Sunday last the Chancellor, at a Cabinet, after being told by the physicians that the King was capable of signing any papers, asked them if they thought he was capable of any deliberative act, and that they did not choose to give an affirmative answer to that question.

Sheridan has said that on Tuesday last (the day after the discussion about the King in the House of Commons) he called on Fox (at a bookseller's in Albemarle Street, where he lodges), and, being told he had a gentleman with him, the servant was showing him into a room when on his opening the door he perceived Lord Grenville and Thomas Grenville; that on this he drew back, and said that could not be the room he was meant to be shown into. He was then shown into another where he remained some time by himself, but that at length the door was opened, and Lord Fitzwilliam¹ was ushered in, on which he went away.

March 6, Tuesday, 11 a.m., Pheasantry.—It is understood

¹ The Whig peer who had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1795. When Lord Grenville came into power in 1806 he was appointed Lord President of Council. In 1819 he was dismissed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Yorkshire for showing sympathy with the victims of "Peterloo."

that the new co-operation, or approximation, between the old and new Opposition, are to make the first essay of their strength to-morrow, on the motion of which Sir John Wrottesley has given notice for that day, relative to the conduct of the Irish Government on the 23rd of July last. I intend to go to the House.

March 18, Sunday, 8 p.m., Pheasantry.—On the 7th Mr. Pitt absented himself, but his friends voted against Government. The minority, however, was less numerous than they had expected. On that day week Mr. Creevey¹ made a motion, of which he had given a long notice, for repairs [*sic*] relative to the affairs of Ceylon. It was a thin House. Pitt was again absent, and Windham and William Elliot stayed away, I hope from a negative regard at least to Frederick North,² but Fox and Sheridan spoke for the motion. Government agreed to grant certain papers, tending to show the causes and origin of the war. With regard to the others asked for, I think the majority was 71 against 47. Lord Hobart had desired me to look at the papers he meant to grant and to frame a motion for their production, which indeed differed little from the first of Creevey's and was agreed by him to be substituted instead of his. Fox's speech had I thought an acrimonious turn. He spoke of *censure and punishment* if necessary. I therefore next day went to Lady Sheffield and begged she would get Lord Guilford³ to speak to Fox and Sheridan and represent to them that the war in Ceylon was the act of Frederick North, not of the Government at home, and that therefore any adverse proceedings concerning it could only injure him and not promote any plan against the Ministry. I find from a letter of Lady Sheffield's yesterday to her sister that he has seen Fox, who has promised to manage such future share as he may take in this matter in the most friendly manner towards Frederick. I have to-day written to Lord Minto earnestly pressing his interference with Windham and Elliot.

¹ Thomas Creevey, a well-known figure since the publication of the *Creevey Papers*.

² Afterwards fifth Earl of Guilford. At this time Governor of Ceylon.

³ Obviously a slip for Lord Sheffield.

On Thursday last (the 15th) Pitt made his motion for papers relative to the conduct of our maritime defence, which produced a very interesting debate. Tierney took the lead for Government and did not do it well. A good deal of splenetic sarcasm against Pitt, which what has passed between them ought to lead him to avoid, and which was retorted by Pitt, in his best manner, in his reply. Pitt, though professing the highest opinion of Lord St. Vincent as an officer and of his services in that respect, acknowledged that he meant that his motion should lead to a censure of his conduct as a Minister. Fox spoke for the motion, but with the highest indiscriminate encomiums on Lord St. Vincent (to whom also he professed great personal attachment and obligations). He said all the papers asked for (some were given) were necessary, since some were to be produced in order to justify fully Lord St. Vincent's conduct and to distinguish his from that of Lord Hardwicke, and the rest of the Cabinet here, who stood in need of concealment.

Sheridan was against the motion, but was equally exalted and unqualified in his panegyrics on Lord St. Vincent. Sir Edward Pellew¹ made a maiden speech of great effect, and very encouraging to the country, in which he treated the chance of the French being able to effect a landing in this country with ridicule and contempt. On the division (which took place between one and two in the morning) the numbers were, for Mr. Pitt 130, for Government 201, a minority lower by 40 or 50 than was expected on the Treasury Bench. Yet Sheridan, Erskine and Colonel MacMahon (a sort of manager for the Prince of Wales) divided with Government. This circumstance gave occasion to a great deal of observation. Addington had been met in the morning coming out of Carlton House, and the Duke of Norfolk, who has been wavering for several months, is said to have declared himself in favour of the Ministry.

¹ A sailor of great gallantry, who had taken the first frigate in the war against France and been created a baronet in 1796. He had recently been returned to Parliament as member for Barnstaple. In 1816, in recognition of the bombardment of Algiers, he was created Viscount Exmouth.

Sheridan's entire separation is now expected more than ever. He has always been a doubtful and hollow friend, and Lady Glenbervie recollects that many years ago her father, speaking to her of the political intimacy between those two, said to her one day: "Remember what I say to you. If you live a good many years, which I hope you will, I am satisfied you will see that this friend of Fox's will trip up his heels."

The King, according to the bulletins, approaches, advances, etc., to recovery, but I do not find that Simmons has ceased to attend with the other physicians.

The arrest and accusation of Moreau and Pichegru excite the most earnest attention. The circumstances of this conspiracy remain still a mystery here and, probably, to the public at large at Paris.¹

March 21, Wednesday, 8 p.m., Pheasantry.—On Monday evening Mr. Pitt put off the motion of which he had given notice for Tuesday, relative to the military defence of the country, in consequence of Mr. Yorke's² having announced his intention of submitting on some early day a plan on the same subject. He said he would wait till he saw whether that plan would render his motion unnecessary.

Lord Alvanley (Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) died, after an illness of two days, on Sunday forenoon at his house in Great George Street, Westminster. He was a good lawyer and a very honest man and had very good parts, but so much levity, talkativeness and buffoonery about him, not only in company, but on the Bench, that his reputation with the public, and the Bar, as a judge was very low.³ Early in his professional life he was much befriended by Lord Thurlow, then Chancellor,

¹ The facts about this conspiracy against Napoleon are still doubtful. Pichegru died mysteriously in prison, and Moreau withdrew from the affair when he found that Cadoudal, the Chouan leader, was at the back of it.

² Charles Philip Yorke, Secretary at War; shortly to be transferred to the Home Office.

³ The first Lord Alvanley has appeared earlier in these journals as Richard Pepper Arden, Master of the Rolls. There is a letter describing his edifying end in the *Bathurst* MSS. (Historical MSS. Commission). He was succeeded by his son, a well-known Regency dandy.

but on Pitt's becoming Minister he attached himself closely to him, which gave so much umbrage to his former patron that when he became Solicitor and afterwards Attorney General he treated him with great harshness and contempt. As Master of the Rolls, in which office he succeeded Lord Kenyon, his decrees were much approved of. He succeeded Lord Eldon in the Common Pleas (and was then created a peer) when Lord Rosslyn, who had contributed so materially to the subversion of Pitt's Administration, was, after many broad hints from the present Ministers, at last reluctantly made to resign the Great Seal.

The same day the Duke of Roxburgh ¹ died, an old and steady friend of my old friend Mr. Langton.² Another of his oldest friends and, through him of my earliest acquaintance in London, Lord Eliot,³ died about a month ago, and last week Mr. Hare,⁴ one of the intimate companions of Fox at Eton and through life, died at Bath. He was certainly a man of parts of the first order, but though surpassing all his contemporaries in the brilliancy of his conversation and wit, was never able to speak in Parliament, in this respect resembling Gibbon, though I do not know whether he had so strong a desire of doing so as Gibbon.

May 28, Monday, 8 p.m., Pheasantry.—Yesterday I went after church to Hampton Court Palace to pay a visit to Mrs. Riddel. She is a lively, handsome little woman, with good teeth and eyes, and a shrill, disagreeable voice, which she employs without ceasing on all sorts of subjects, but chiefly literary, English, Italian, Spanish, etc. Her ruling passion (next I suppose to what is called passion *par excellence*) seems to be the acquaintance, correspondence, and adulation of literati of all sorts. Roscoe, father and son, had been to visit her, Mathias ⁵

¹ The third Duke, a great book collector.

² Bennet Langton, Johnson's friend.

³ Edward Eliot, created Lord Eliot in 1784; another friend of Johnson's, a patron of Reynolds, and M.P. from 1748 to 1784.

⁴ James Hare. See p. 1.

⁵ Thomas James Mathias, author of the satirical *Pursuits of Literature*, which caused a great sensation on its publication in 1794; a fine Italian scholar.

had just left her, and she expected in the evening Don Juan Ariaza, a Spanish poet, who is secretary to the Embassy from Spain, and formerly a sea officer in that service. She has a bookcase full of books, the gifts of the authors, and showed me a score of them with that circumstance written on the title-pages during the course of my visit, and when I came away would have loaded me with half a dozen I happened to say I had not seen. I contrived, however, to escape with two small volumes, Don Ariaza's poems, and an essay of Mathias's to prove the authenticity of Rowley. This morning she came to visit Lady Glenbervie and brought with her Ariaza himself, her daughter by her late husband (a girl of about twelve years of age) and five or six of Mathias's latest Italian compilations.

The situation of the King's health continues very doubtful and, of course, the situation of the new Ministry and domestic politics. I have interrupted the details on those subjects, partly from a variety of reasons which have produced one more total interruption in this journal, partly because of the great diversity of the numerous daily reports, and the difficulty of ascertaining the truth. If Mr. Pitt has jockeyed both Fox and Lord Grenville,¹ which his enemies and some of his good-natured friends suppose, he must be a very profound dissembler, and also a very bold, and, all circumstances considered, a very rash politician, or rather intriguer. Lord Melville is generally thought to be his chief adviser, and the new Cabinet will probably, in point of efficiency, consist only of those two, as during the greater part of the last war the only efficient members were reckoned to be those two and Lord Grenville. They have now got rid of Lord Grenville, an object both they and the King were thought by many to have in view during the latter part of the former Administration. Can his present exclusion be the result of a premeditated plan of Pitt, of Dundas, or of both, and was the resignation in 1801 and the pretext on which that took place imagined merely to answer that end, and has Pitt's

¹ Pitt had resumed office on May 10. He had wished for a coalition with Fox and Grenville; but the King had set his face against the admission of Fox to office and Grenville had refused to serve without him.

quiescent conduct for some time since and his late activity proceeded from the same cause? He can hardly say now that the Catholic question was the real cause, and according to my recollection, Long's pamphlet clearly declares that there were other causes which would have occasioned that resignation. In that pamphlet, too, it is said that after the general resignation Pitt offered to retain his situation till the end of the war, and till the nation should be relieved from its more pressing difficulties. Cobbett shrewdly interprets this to have been tantamount to saying for the space of his natural life, and he affirms that neither Lord Grenville nor Windham were ever apprised of this offer by Pitt, or knew of it till some months ago, an assertion which is not improbably founded on the information of Windham, as I know he has much direct intercourse with Cobbett.

The conviction of Cobbett last week, first on an information by the Attorney-General, and then in an action at the suit of Plunket, the Solicitor-General in Ireland, must very much affect the future fortunes of that extraordinary writer.¹ Should the Court of B.R. [King's Bench] in giving judgment on the information, condemn him to the pillory (which I shall be very sorry for) it will be difficult, if not impossible, for him to retain that degree of personal respect necessary to give full effect to his forcible and masculine eloquence. The most virtuous person, if branded in the forehead, though by a corrupt or mistaken sentence, could hardly recover from the degradation and shame attending such a circumstance. Much more so is this true of persons of equivocal reputation, or even of those whose conduct has procured them numerous enemies, who think or at least say the worst of them. Cobbett's most partial admirers would admit that his pen so often dipped in the bitterest gall belongs to the last class.

Lord Guilford seems to be more and more in the good graces of the Prince of Wales. With all his eccentricity and abandon-

¹ Cobbett had been convicted on a charge of a libel arising out of some articles on Ireland published in his *Register*. On the discovery that the articles were by an Irish judge, Johnson, the charge was dropped.

ment of himself to bad company and indolent and enervating pleasures, he is by much the most respectable of the Prince's convivial companions.

Lady Glenbervie told me the other day several odd traits of her brother's whimsical humour.

One day walking in the streets with a friend he observed on a sign, Fog and Son, on which he told his friend he had some business in that shop. On going into it he asked for Mr. Fog, who coming forward from his back parlour Lord Guilford (then Frank North) asked him, "Are you Mr. Fog?" "Yes, sir." "Then, sir, I have called to give you a piece of serious advice, which is, that you dissolve your partnership immediately or you must infallibly be ruined, for in such a firm *Sun* must destroy Fog." The man did not like the joke but flew into a violent passion, and North and his friend retreated as fast as they could.

Being indisposed at Bath his apothecary called on him before he got up in the morning, and having asked him what sort of night he had passed, he was greatly astonished when North answered him,

My wits have been wandering to and fro
To find that four and four make two.

June 2, Saturday, 10 p.m., Pheasantry.—I went to town on Tuesday last, by myself, and remained till yesterday, when I dined on my way home at Wimbledon with Ogilvy and the Duchess of Leinster, the party being besides us three, the Duke my old acquaintance, more stupid than ever,¹ Sir Evan Nepean, Mr. Barnard, Lady Anne's husband (his true designation), Sir John Stewart—lately Attorney or Solicitor-General for Ireland (I forget which)—and Lady Sophia Fitzgerald. There are living with the Duchess two children—a boy and a girl—of Lord Edward's. The girl is beautiful, with dark auburn hair and blue eyes, and is thought to be very like her mother.² I was afraid to ask after her.

¹ See p. 42.

² The gallant Lord Edward and the beautiful Pamela had two daughters, Pamela and Lucy Louisa.

All the week I was occupied in trying to get out of my seat for Hastings, and thought for a moment it was settled, but found afterwards that I may have a concurrent negotiation to manage about it both with Addington and Pitt.

June 11, Monday, 10 a.m., Pheasantry.—I passed Thursday and part of Friday last in visiting part of Windsor Forest, and the King's Norfolk Farm and nursery grounds in and near the Great Park.

On my return to town on Friday in the evening I met the King and Queen in their post-chaise near Turnham Green, followed by the Princesses and attendants in two coaches and the usual escort. The King looked well and seemed in earnest but not particularly hurried discourse with the Queen. I found on enquiry in town that this was the third time he had gone out in this way.

Before then he had not been in the carriage with her or any of the ladies, a circumstance which seems to confirm the many well authentic [*sic*] reports concerning one particular symptom attending his disorder both now and on the two former occasions.

It was agreed by all parties in town that for the last three or four days he had been unequivocally better. Accordingly many of the new appointments and presentations have been in the two last *Gazettes*, among the rest Lord Pelham's strange transfer from the Duchy to be Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

The division on Friday, when Pitt carried the mere commitment of his Defence Bill by only a majority of 221 over 181, or 40, did not occasion much surprise, but has occasioned and too naturally much uncomfortable speculation.

In the meantime everything continues to smile on the new Emperor of the French. Moreau's letter is disgraceful to him, and makes it quite safe for Buonaparte if he pleases to pardon him. He is clearly a man of no strength of character nor sense of high ambition or personal dignity. His conduct on the former accusation of Pichegru as now publicly stated by himself was that of a treacherous and selfish spy or informer.

June 18, Monday, 1 p.m., Pheasantry.—Mr. Williams told

me the other day that one of the early causes of the King's dislike to Fox arose from having been told that Fox had said that if he were Minister he knew a sure way of governing the King and any King, viz. the giving up to him all the splendour and agreeable patronage of the Crown, but retaining the political power and authority in his own hands. This is said to have excited the jealousy of the King, and a suspicion that Fox has a fixed plan of making him a mere pageant.

June 21, Thursday, 8 a.m., Pheasantry.—On Monday last the great struggle took place in the House of Commons. The amendments were received, and among others one entirely new, which took off a chief objection to the plan, viz. the reduction of the Defence Corps to half pay in time of peace. The question was taken on the motion that the bill be engrossed, and the division, though several had paired off, and some perhaps were shut out, amounted to the large numbers of 265 for the question and 223 against—majority 42. Another division was threatened the next day on the third reading, but was given up, and the bill passed the day before yesterday, after a curious conversation between Thomas Grenville and Pitt in which the former, in contradiction to what Pitt had said the night before, affirmed that neither he nor his connections ever said or meant to say that they thought *Pitt alone*, if at the head of Administration, would be sufficient to save the country, and Pitt reaffirmed that he has been assured that they had said so on evidence which could leave no doubt in his mind, though as to what they meant they alone could give testimony.

It was a strange contest for Pitt to have occasioned and conducted, and no appositeness to an argument can, I should think, justify a man in point of modesty and propriety in being himself the person to quote and persist in urging such testimony to his own wonderful ability. Windham made an able and witty speech against the bill, but as his friends were not to divide it was light without heat. He prefaced it by the just and striking observation that the words or expressions supposed by Pitt to have been on former occasions used by the Grenvilles (if they and not he were defective in their memory of them) ought

not to be under different circumstances pressed upon them in their literal sense, that if in any case a liberality of construction ought to be used it was on such occasions.

June 25, Monday, 8 a.m., Pheasantry.—On Saturday forenoon having rode to call on Miss Berrys, at their place affectedly called Little Strawberry, I found there, with Miss Berry, her neighbour Mrs. Damer and Mrs. Siddons. I was never before in a room with Mrs. Siddons, and though the countenance struck me as one I had frequently seen, and Miss Berry (supposing us well acquainted) said when I came in, “You find here an old acquaintance,” I did not make her out till just as she was at the door to go away, when a certain solemnity and buskined manner brought her to my mind.

Miss Berry told me two fresh *traits d’esprits* from Paris, on the extinction of the French Republic in the creation of an Emperor. One in verse :

L’indivisible citoyenne
Qui ne devoit jamais périr
N’a pu supporter sans mourir
L’opération césarienne.

The other : “La République vient d’expirer d’une manière très édifiante entre les bras de son curé. Curé est le nom du Sénateur ou Tribune qui le premier a fait le proposition de proclamer Bonaparte Empereur.”

June 27, Wednesday, 7 a.m., Eden Farm.—We came here to dinner yesterday, having called at Lord Liverpool’s on our way.

I found Lord Liverpool perfectly well in his faculties and looks, less feeble in appearance than when I last saw him, now above a twelve month ago, but weaker in his limbs, hands and arms ; yet, when helped to rise from his sofa, able to walk from one room to another without assistance and with tolerable ease. He is full of the politics of the day ; speaks ministerially of the Opposition, but manifestly much out of humour with the Ministry, venting his spleen indirectly on various subjects, the Lord Advocate, the late pamphlets, etc.

I told him we were going to Lord Auckland’s. He asked

me if I knew what his plans are. I said truly I did not in the least. He then said he would tell me, but in great confidence, the very strange circumstances of his conduct when the Post Office was taken from him.¹ (His patent, by-the-bye, still continues and of course his pay.) That he had written a long and very extraordinary and improper letter to the King, in which he complained very much of Pitt, spoke of his poverty, numerous family, rank in the State, etc.; said that Pitt had promised him a pension *on the foreign fund* equal to his salary as Postmaster; that he had also offered him something for one of his sons which he had rejected, etc. The King answered the letter in his own hand, at considerable length and very angrily. He had consulted with nobody about this answer. I wondered how Lord Liverpool had seen it, which he explained by telling me that a copy of each (*viz.* Lord Auckland's letter and the King's answer) had been sent him with a bundle of other papers, whether tied up with them by mistake or not he could not tell, both also in the *King's hand*. This is very remarkable. When he had done telling me this, he repeated his injunctions of secrecy, saying he should be sorry to hurt the poor man, but that it was clear Pitt would never forgive him.

I had been with Lord Auckland at the moment he was closing his letter to the King, which he mentioned to me at the time, told me he had kept a copy of it, and that he should send it by a sure hand who would take care to deliver it to the King himself. He did not show it me, but mentioned part of the contents, which corresponded, as I recollect, with Lord Liverpool's account.

Lady Glenbervie and I were also at his house the evening after, and after he had received the answer, of which he said little, but enough to show that it was far from palatable.

Here we found Lord and Lady Francis Osborne, Lord and Lady Hobart, Freeling² of the Post Office, and the family.

¹ On Pitt's resignation in 1801.

² Francis Freeling, created a baronet in 1828, was secretary to the General Post Office for many years and did much to improve the postal service.

Lady Auckland told Lady Glenbervie the particulars of Lord Pelham's acceptance and subsequent resignation of the Black Stick, which had been before related to me by Cholmondeley. At a Council about three weeks ago he attended to resign the office of Chancellor of the Duchy, and being ushered in to the King, he told him that he wished most exceedingly to have him in a situation near his person, and taking the Black Stick which he had in his hand, absolutely forced it into Pelham's and held it there, with many appearances and expressions of insanity. Pelham was forced to yield, and came from the audience thus invested, but complained immediately to the Ministers who were there that he had not been warned of the King's intention, and declared his own determination not to keep the office. Accordingly he has, it is said, since then signified his resignation of it. It seems, however, on Monday night last, in the division on Pitt's Army Bill, the Duke of Portland had his proxy.

This circumstance was equally exclaimed against yesterday by Lord Francis Osborne, a violent Foxite, by Lord Auckland, and Lord Hobart. It is I think very unaccountable after the treatment Pelham has experienced.

Lady Glenbervie thinks Hobart out of spirits and mortified. They went away in the evening. He and Lord Francis are violent in their politics. Lord Hobart continues in his manner the same as I have always known him, good-natured, but important and sneering. Lord Francis¹ is silent and supercilious, speaking only in a low voice to those next him, chiefly the women, and generally in sarcastical and satirical remarks.

Lord Auckland told me that at the Duchess of Marlborough's breakfast at Sion on Friday last, the Prince of Wales had taken him under the arm and walked about with him in close conversation for a considerable time, so as to be (as Lord Auckland said) much too conspicuous. He asked him what he thought of the war, and of the likelihood of peace. Lord Auckland said he really could form no opinion, and hardly knew what to

¹ Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne, second son of the fifth Duke of Leeds, created Baron Godolphin in 1832.

wish. "Well," says the Prince, "I will tell you what I think : I think this scoundrel adventurer Buonaparte will offer us Malta, the independence of Holland, and Flanders as a sovereignty to a British Prince, if we will leave him Hanover." "That would be a good bargain indeed," said Lord Auckland. "I think very differently," said the Prince. "I should insist upon Hanover. I am as mad on that subject as my father." "What," says Lord Auckland, "would you prefer it to Holland and Flanders?" "Most assuredly, and if you were my Minister when that question came to be decided I should not suffer you to cede Hanover for any compensation." "I am sorry," said Lord Auckland, "to thus incur your Royal Highness's displeasure by anticipation, but I cannot see the importance of Hanover in the light your Royal Highness does." "Why, it is the key to the King of Prussia's dominions and enables Buonaparte to keep him in complete check." "In my opinion," said Lord Auckland, "it is merely a field of battle, easy to be occupied by a strong army at any time, but from which it may be as easily expelled by a stronger, being an open plain, where nothing further can be gained than ravishing the women and pillaging undefended property."

Afterwards the Prince took Addington under the arm and exhibited him to all the world (for everybody almost was at this breakfast) in the same manner, and he then returned to Lord Auckland and told him he had done so on purpose to make people talk and conjecture, which they would be the more ready to do as Addington had been seen the other night in the lobby of the House of Commons arm in arm with Fox. Lord Auckland told Addington nearly what the Prince had said. Addington said he was aware of the effect but had been unable to parry it. But Lord Auckland did not seem to me sufficiently to feel that the Prince had also been diverting himself at his expense—a most undignified and unhandsome conduct surely. Lord Auckland said he never had before conversed with the Prince near so much.

Mrs. Trail, who is much acquainted with Miss Planta, says the Queen's temper is become intolerable, and that the

Princesses are rendered quite miserable by it. Alas, there is much ground for accounting for this and pardoning her.

Miss Berry, who is all Fox and Opposition, says that it is a very common story among the fashionable young men in the House of Commons that as the King was going to open the session last winter, he said to the persons in the state coach with him, "I shall surprise the two Houses by the beginning of my Address to them. I mean to say, 'My Lords and *Peacocks*.'" The attendants were confounded. Some of them ventured to say, "Surely your Majesty would not use that expression." "Yes, but I shall; I shall certainly say 'My Lords and Peacocks.'" He did not, however, and I do not believe the story. It was long before his illness was declared. There may, however, have been some royal joke on which this foolish invention was embroidered. She says it had become a common saying, when any fashionable young member was going to the House, to say, "I am going to see what the Peacocks are doing."

Another story of hers is that when the list of convicts had been left with the King and was returned by him, the Secretary of State or the Chancellor or Recorder observed two names added, one of which was Dr. Simmons. That on seeing them he said, "Sir, I observe two names have been added." "Yes," said the King, "the names of two rascals who deserve hanging more than all the others."

Lord Liverpool says the King is and would be very well if they could keep him from being too much with his family and with his grooms (he did not explain why), and that pains are taken to accomplish both objects.

July 1, Sunday, 6 a.m., Woodford (Sir Robert Preston's).—I arrived here, accompanied by my secretary, Mr. Alexander Milne, and Thomas Mead, messenger to the Office of Woods, about 9 o'clock yesterday morning, and passed from 11 till half past 3 in viewing that part of Hainault Forest called the King's Woods and which still belong to the Crown. I intend to return to town by Epping Forest.

About the middle of Hainault Forest we dismounted (for I

was with my hospitable landlord, Sir Robert Preston, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Brown) to examine the famous tree called Fairlop tree,¹ now a venerable ruin, with, however, some foliage on its otherwise bald and mutilated limbs. Its circumference at the ground is seventeen of my paces and fifteen of Mr. Brown's. Half way up the girth may be from ten to twelve yards, I should guess. But it is hollow and chiefly mere bark.

There is a fair held annually on the small circular green where it stands, on the first Friday in July, and it is, it seems, customary for some of the frequenters of that fair to boil their tea kettles in the sort of cave within this still living contemporary of Henry VIII.

I intend to have a drawing made of it and a detailed history and description.

The famous King's Oak in Epping Forest no longer exists, and the public house called the *Bald-faced Stag*, so long the resort of the city tradesmen and apprentices, on Easter Monday, when the annual stag-hunt still takes place, is now a private lodging house. It was still flourishing as an inn, though a very bad one, when I was a member of Bleak Hall, an institution which is also now no more. About thirty years ago, I was a member of it for a year or two, together with Mr. Elliot, now Lord Minto, George Cholmondeley, Mr. Le Blanc, now one of the Judges of the King's Bench, Foster Bower, Samuel Phipps, an eminent conveyancer, Mr. Black, a merchant, Pardoe the attorney, a worthy but odd man, Venables, an attorney, Peregrine Cust, King's Counsel and brother to the Speaker of the House of Commons of that name, and I believe some others. Law (now Lord Ellenboro') and Lawrence, afterwards a Serjeant and now also a Judge of the King's Bench, became members I think before I gave it up, and King and Le Blanc used to be very constantly there on Saturdays and Sundays for several years. The late Sir Thomas Tancred, a very singular character, was also a member in my time. He was of an old Catholic family in the north, and was himself educated and

¹ It was blown down in 1820.

continued long a strict Catholic. He was I believe educated abroad, and was travelling on the Continent while I was at Vienna (1768-9), where I frequently heard of him from my friends Lord Stormont and Langlois. It was said, and I believe with some foundation, that he tried, through the influence of the English Government, to obtain the promise of a Cardinal's Hat, hoping (as was supposed) to become Pope in time. Failing in this wild project, his ambition took another turn ; he came to England, set about studying the law, lived much at the law club called the Bears (of which I was long an ordinary and am still an honorary member), was there and at Bleak Hall a loud and pertinacious disputant, and when his five years were nearly expired, renounced Popery and was called to the Bar (Catholics could not then be admitted barristers). For some time he persevered in a regular attendance in the King's Bench, but I only remember his having one brief. He at last tired of a profession which he embraced probably in the belief that he was to be Chancellor. Having married one of the Miss Assheton Smiths of Cheshire (now his widow and mother of the present Sir Thomas and other children) he bought Cuffnells (at present Rose's magnificent villa) in New Forest and resided there several years. At last, however, he grew weary of that sort of life and went abroad, where he died, having returned, as I have heard, to his original religion.

To a person impressed with the great importance and growing scarcity of oak timber in this country it is matter of grief, not gratification, to see that so much of the ancient forests has become private property and yielded to the plough and the scythe. If Neptune is the god of navigation Virgil would have done right not to have included him in his invocation at the beginning of the *Georgics* :

Vestro si munere tellus,
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit aristū.

July 6, Friday, 12 midday, Pheasantry.—On Wednesday I had an interview with the Duke of Gloucester, at Gloucester House (by his appointment), on the subject of New Forest. He expressed himself obliged to me for having desired to wait

upon him. What he said was very reasonable as to his own rights and those of others, and he delivers himself with less hurry and eagerness to speak, than his brother. He has desired I would lodge at his house when at Lyndhurst.

Aug. 19, Sunday, 11 a.m., Pheasantry.—Lady Glenbervie and I went on Wednesday last (the 15th) to dine with Colonel and Mrs. Sneyd at Windsor and afterwards went with them and General and Mrs. Harcourt to pay our duty on the Terrace. We only found the King, the Princesses Augusta, Amelia and Sophia, a few of the attendants and a very few strangers, it being a very cold, uncomfortable evening. The King, very soon after we came on the Terrace, having first said a few words to Lady Glenbervie and Fred, who was with us, came up to General Harcourt and me where we happened to be standing at some little distance from the rest of the group, and entered upon a conversation, or rather a discourse (for we scarcely said anything), which certainly lasted above an hour and without any pause and related to such a variety of subjects and persons as to have determined me to write down a memorandum of it in this journal while fresh in my memory the next morning; but having been somewhat indisposed for some days I was unluckily attacked with a pretty severe feverish rheumatism before we were able to steal off the Terrace (which we contrived to do at last, leaving his Majesty there contrary to all etiquette) and have been confined almost ever since to my bedchamber and unable to commit anything to writing.

I shall now try to recollect as much and as distinctly as I can, with the assistance of Lady Glenbervie,¹ to whom I related the most material part as soon as we got home. There was nothing in what the King said of men or things which did not appear to me sensible and rational and indeed arising from the reflections of an able man, but they were matters on which it was impolitic to suppose he would have opened himself so freely and so copiously either to General Harcourt or me, much less to both together, if he had been in perfect possession of

¹ The whole of this entry and the next (August 19 and 20) appear to be in the handwriting of Lady Glenbervie.

himself. It was exactly the case of *dicenda tacenda locutus* and reminded me extremely of the long conversation he held with me in the audience I had when I was preparing to depart for the Cape (though then I was alone with him) and that which took place at Weymouth in the aide-de-camp's room in summer 1802.

He began by observing that Fred was very like his uncle Frederick, of whom he said he had always continued to entertain the best opinion (alluding as I thought to the complaints which some have made of his conduct on the occasion of the late war with the Candians).¹ He then said, addressing himself equally to General Harcourt and me, that he believed there never was an honester man than Lord North and none for whom he ever felt a greater regard ; that he was also a true and zealous friend to that main part of our Constitution, the Church of England ; that he believed the last speech he made in the House of Commons after he was blind was in defence of it ; that he believed he had never been happy after his junction with a person who had very different sentiments ;² that this junction he knew (he thought upon the best authority) had been brought about by a certain person (clearly meaning Lord Auckland) who notwithstanding had lately valued himself upon his faithful services to him for two and thirty years. Here I think he certainly referred to Lord Auckland's letter to him which he wrote upon receiving intelligence that he was to be removed and which I happened to call upon him when he was concluding and he told me of, but did not show me, nor the King's answer, though Lady Glenbervie and I were at his house on the evening that he received it and which is said not at all to have been in terms agreeable to him.³ The King added that the late Lord Guilford (George) had contributed to bring about the junction with Fox, but that he believed he had repented of it, that he was good at bottom, and that he had reason to think he would have taken a proper line if he had lived.

His Majesty said he knew Eden⁴ had made Lord North and Fox embrace and then said to Sheridan, who was in the room

¹ *i.e.* In Ceylon. ² Fox. ³ See above, p. 381. ⁴ Lord Auckland.

with him, "Now let us retire and leave them together." His authorities he said were old Lord Guilford, Lady North, Sir Grey Cooper and Robinson ; that he had for some time suspected that Keene had some share in bringing about the Coalition but that he was now convinced he had not. (Lady Glenbervie says Keene was always against it.)

The King said he did not believe the Catholic question was the real reason of Pitt's resignation and that he had lately told Pitt so himself ; that Pitt lately said to him, "You know I sent you a word a fortnight after my resignation that I would not stir the question out of respect to you," and that he (the King) said, "Why then did you make it a ground for quitting your situation ?" ; that upon the late occasion Pitt had declared to him that not only from regard to his Majesty but also from private reasons of his own, he was resolved never to stir the question, to which the King replied, "In that case I am perfectly satisfied and shall not trouble myself to enquire about your private reasons." The King said he believed Pitt had determined to withdraw himself and had only laid hold of the Catholic question as a pretext ; that the Ministers could not be ignorant of his firm determination on the subject ; that he had said to the four commoners and two peers, Privy Counsellors who came down to him at Windsor to communicate the conclusion of the Union, viz. Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Windham and myself, Lord Leicester and Lord Walsingham, that he took great pleasure in the event as he thought it would put an end to the claims of the Catholics in Ireland, and he appealed to me for my recollection of this circumstance.

He said Mr. Addington had done a great service in coming into office when he did, but that his retreat when it took place had become equally necessary ; that he had brought forward a number of inefficient measures, scarcely any of which he had been able to carry through, and that at last there was not one of his own Cabinet that was willing to continue with him except Lord Hobart ; that he had the imprudence to bring forward measures without previous communication or consultation with his colleagues ; that the Chancellor had told the King that he

thought it was impossible for a person to hold the Seals and not support whatever measure his Majesty's First Lord of the Treasury might bring forward, whatever his own opinion might be. That he had repeated this to Mr. Addington who had said upon it, "Then why does not he resign?" to which the King replied, "Is there no other alternative?" That Addington after he had taken considerable people into office used not to consult or confide in them, as in the case of Lord Pelham. Here General Harcourt said, "And of Mr. Tierney," to which the King assented. That Addington had talked and wavered about resigning, one day saying he would, and another that he could not; that he had said to the King that the country could not be saved but by his continuing in office, and the King replied, "I am not entirely of that opinion;" that the Hanoverian Minister had one day said very justly that the world in general allowed Mr. Addington to be possessed of integrity and diligence but that he was as generally thought to want one as material a quality—talents. The King also said that in his discussions with Addington on the subject of his retreat he had told him that there was one thing wanting in him as a Minister, and that upon his seeming to look for an explicit declaration of what that was, he said, to be plain, it was talents. That Addington notwithstanding his present opposition would he believed come right though he was sore at present; that he had lately been on the Terrace and had looked angrily at him (this I thought a very odd expression) but that he had thought right to seem not to perceive it. He said Hiley Addington thought very rightly, and disapproved of his brother's conduct and that when one of the decisive questions were coming on a brother of Lord Carrington's came to him and said that having heard that he wished to go into the country he was come to pair off with him, but he had answered that he would not pair off with him as he was of the same opinion with himself and was going out of town that he might not witness or contribute to his brother's discredit; that he thought Hiley Addington a very clever man but idle.

He spoke also highly of Bragge Bathurst and said that after Addington was out he voted for Pitt's plan, but in which I think

his Majesty was mistaken. He said that Addington pressed Bragge not to follow him, considering his narrow fortune and family, but that Bragge was determined, thinking he could not in honour separate from him, though he had no certainty at that time of possessing above five hundred a year. Most fortunately he had at that very juncture fallen into an estate of four thousand a year; that his Majesty had told these circumstances to Mr. Pitt who was so much affected as to cry, professing a very high opinion of Bragge and great pleasure in his having had an opportunity before his fortune fell in of showing the generosity of his character. The King said that the day before when Pitt had been with him he told him that he believed Tierney was not indisposed to come forward if it were not disagreeable to his Majesty and that on this he had said the whole question was whether it would be agreeable to Mr. Pitt; that his only objection could be its not being so and that it had been for that reason only that he had objected to Mr. Tierney when Mr. Addington employed him, thinking that it looked like an affront to Mr. Pitt. (I infer from this that Mr. Tierney will be very soon in office and the report is thereby confirmed that Pitt at first proposed to him to continue, indeed it has been lately said that he is to be Secretary for Ireland, but that is hardly likely, considering the part he has always taken for Catholic emancipation.)

The King said that when Pitt proposed Foster to him, he observed in like manner that the only objection he could have felt to him must have been his being disagreeable to Mr. Pitt, as he must recollect that at the time when the Union was in question he had advised him not to have Mr. Foster at the meetings concerning the Union, as he knew him to be decidedly adverse to it, but that Mr. Pitt had said that he had assured him in Downing Street that though he could not personally support it, he would take no active measure to oppose it. Yet immediately on his return to Ireland he had become most actively warm and zealous in his opposition to it.

(It struck me here that the King did not seem to be correctly informed by Mr. Pitt of the regular and efficient meetings of

Privy Counsellors, four from each of the two kingdoms, besides the Home Secretary and the Minister, at which the Articles of the Union were settled, since Mr. Foster was no member of any of those meetings, or present at any of them ; indeed his opposition had long before declared itself and he was not in England ; if this be so, the King was as ill used by this silence as the Lords of the Council constituting the meetings were.)

The King said Corry ¹ was a person of no consequence but that Pitt had said he must be made easy, only that would be a matter of greater facility after Mr. Foster had fairly been invested in his office. His Majesty said Lord Camden had on the late occasion expressed to him his surprise that his Majesty should have supposed that he was a friend to the Catholic question and had gone to Ireland on the ground of opposing it ; that he had continued to employ Cooke,² also a most strenuous enemy to it ; that he had replied that he did not suppose he would support it, but as he had declined being of the new Cabinet, he thought that his friendship with Mr. Pitt would have led him not to oppose it. He said the late Ministers had not permitted Lord Pelham to take Cooke as his Under-Secretary and he had appointed in his room a Sir George Shee, a person of nothing, and who had been the great instigator of Burke in all his charges against Hastings, a prosecution which he must always continue to think disgraceful to the country. That he had no doubt Mr. Hastings had been very ambitious and that he had created many lucrative places to gratify his followers and dependents, and those recommended to him from home. That he had heard that Mr. Hastings had once received a public despatch signed by all the four and twenty Directors ordering him to abolish a great number of unnecessary employments, which he said he certainly should have obeyed, had he not also received by the same conveyance a private letter from each of the four and twenty requiring notwithstanding their public despatch that the places held by particular friends of their own might not be abolished.

¹ Isaac Corry, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer from 1798 to 1804.

² Edward Cooke, see p. 115.

His Majesty said that all the intelligence from Ministers and agents abroad announced that the expedition against England would positively be undertaken before the end of this month, and that particularly General l'Arne had been ordered suddenly to leave his Embassy at Lisbon in order to take a share in the command of it. That, however, he himself still did not believe it would take place; that foreign Ministers were obliged often to send intelligence from uncertain and doubtful sources, but that indeed almost all our foreign Ministers were either quite idle or too busy interfering and writing a great deal too much. That the case of Drake ¹ was a glaring instance of this, who would never be able to deny his absurd letters, as the French Government was possessed of the originals in his own hand-writing; that another, Jackson,² now at Berlin, had written expressing his astonishment at Drake's imprudence and folly, but that Jackson himself would he believed in similar circumstances, had it not been for this example, have acted with like imprudence and folly. His Majesty spoke very slightly of Jackson, describing him as one of the toad-eaters of the late Duke of Leeds. He said he had two Ministers abroad whose conduct deserved the highest commendation, Mr. Paget ³ at Vienna and Mr. Garlie, now Secretary of Legation at Petersburg. That another, Liston,⁴ who had formerly had a very just reputation for conduct and firmness, seemed to have been quite altered by his abode in America, for at the Northern Courts he had always been recommending concession and giving way. That his principle was very different, being of opinion that as to our domestic Government one of the main pillars which we ought not to suffer to be invaded was the Church and that with regard

¹ British envoy at Munich, who had been implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy.

² Francis James Jackson, *cf.* p. 307. He was at Berlin from 1802 to 1806.

³ Arthur, afterwards Sir Arthur, Paget, one of a distinguished brotherhood, of whom the eldest became first Marquess of Anglesey.

⁴ Robert, afterwards Sir Robert Liston, ambassador at Washington from 1796 to 1802, and envoy extraordinary to the Batavian Republic from 1802 to 1804. He had previously been at Madrid, Stockholm and Constantinople, whither he returned in 1811.

to matters external our Navigation Laws on the established maritime [rights] ought to be preserved equally sacred.

His Majesty spoke a little about the Middlesex Election and informed us (which was quite new to me) that young Manwaring is not a son of Manwaring (who was himself the son of some tradesman) but a natural son of Mrs. Manwaring to whom she had given the name of Manwaring to disguise this circumstance, and that she is said to use him particularly ill lest she should be suspected to be more partial to him than to her real children by Manwaring. The King said he had told Mr. Pitt that [as] this election must have been very expensive and Manwaring a man of no fortune or consequence, he would probably find it necessary on a future occasion to substitute in his place some man of family and importance, and that then he would have to provide for Manwaring at one of the Boards, which he would remind him of when the occasion happens.

I omitted to mention that the King when speaking of Lord North said that when he was recovering from the illness he had sixteen years ago, mentioning the date after a little pause and recollection, Lord North, then blind, had come to Windsor to enquire after him and that he had then felt and said to the Queen that this kindness and attention had he believed done him more good than all that the physicians had done for him.

When speaking of Mr. Corry he said that he was known to be for the Catholic question, that upon the new Parliament after the Union it had been settled that Dr. Duigenan¹ was to retire from representing the Borough of Armagh or rather to vacate, for I think he had been elected, to make room for Corry, but that one day as he was going from the levee to hold a Council a person over the way, pointing to Baylie's, where Lord Rosslyn now lives, whispered to him that he ought to write a letter to the Primate (Stewart who had just succeeded) to warn him of this and to desire that he would not suffer so good a friend of the Church to vacate in order to make room for one so great an enemy to it. That the King observed that

¹ Patrick Duigenan, an Irish judge and Privy Counsellor, a vigorous opponent of emancipation.

he thought this would be a strong measure, to which the other replied it seemed to him quite necessary; that the King on going home to dinner drew up a letter to the Primate in which he made the application, mentioning that it was by Lord Rosslyn's advice, which he sent over to Lord Rosslyn, desiring his opinion whether it would be right for him to send it, and that Lord Rosslyn then wrote him back that upon consideration he thought it more prudent not to do it. That the King said he had preserved both his letter and Lord Rosslyn's answer. That his letter of course was never sent, but that somebody else, he had heard whom, but had forgot at that moment, had persuaded Stewart not to permit Duigenan to vacate.

(The conclusion of this business was that as in Addington's Administration the Catholic question was not to be agitated, Corry was continued Chancellor of the Exchequer, having supported the Union, while Sir John Parnell, his predecessor, opposed it, and had fought with Grattan the *only* duel, strange to tell, which that transaction of heat and violence gave rise to between the members of the Irish Parliament.)

The King appeared to me thinner, paler and with a more shrivelled countenance than when I saw him at the Council which was held at Cuffnells after his recovery in 1801; his clothes hung loose upon him as on that occasion, and I thought his eyes looked opened quite round with a glare that one could not look at without uneasiness, but I did not perceive any particular stutter, confusion or impediment in his words, though Lady Glenbervie did when he spoke to her before me. He spoke very kindly to me and said he had not seen me he believed for a twelvemonth, but had heard I was indisposed and hoped I was better. I had not been prepared for such condescension and so much conversation, as I had thought I had remarked a particular coldness from his Majesty the few times I had been at Court since my leaving the Pay Office.

I was much indisposed when I went upon the Terrace with gravelish and stomach ailments, and having on a thin coat of the Windsor uniform lined with silk, and on the whole a slighter dress than usual, I stood shivering and with my teeth chattering

exposed to a damp cold wind during the whole time the above conversation lasted on the high terrace without any possibility of refuge or shelter.

Aug. 20, Monday, 4 p.m., Pheasantry.—I omitted to mention yesterday that the King observed that he had often been surprised that clever men did not discover always how much easier and more comfortable it is to act straightforward and above board than to pursue a course of crookedness and duplicity ; that this was a lesson Lord Lansdowne never could learn ; that he had mentioned to Mr. Pitt the day before a remarkable trait of Lord Lansdowne and that Mr. Pitt owned it had exceeded anything that he had ever heard even of that Lord. It was that when he was Secretary of State and this country was engaged in a dispute with the Court of Spain, he directed his Under-Secretary, Sir Stanier Porten, to prepare a despatch of which he furnished him with the material part to be sent to our Minister at Madrid and he added this instruction to Sir Stanier : to take great care not to put any points or commas in that part as he wished it to be capable of a double sense and to leave the adoption of such interpretation as he might think fit to the Minister. The King then said this cunning had not availed him for that after all it had turned out that the passage could only fairly bear but one interpretation.

Aug. 22, Wednesday, 11 a.m., Pheasantry.—The King said he had good grounds for believing that Buonaparte passes his time at the Malmaison in the most filthy debauchery, with prostitutes from the streets and stews of Paris, his only passion being quantity and variety, and that his mind and practices are so profligate that he wishes to believe and have it believed that he himself is the father of the infant son of his brother Louis's wife, who is the daughter of his own wife.

Mrs. Sneyd told Lady Glenbervie that a few days before the King said, at the Queen's evening party, on the Norths being mentioned, that he should always love that family on account of their father, whom he had always loved, and then, turning to the Queen, added, " You know, Madam, you never did." Her Majesty remained silent. Mrs. Sneyd says the

Queen has lately shown great peevishness and tartness of behaviour to the King.

It seems Lord St. Helens, who has been for several years of the select society at Windsor and the Queen's House, and was lately (according to his own account to Wilson) in a manner forced to be a Lord of the Bedchamber, which adds nothing to his income as his pension abates *pro rata*, is apt to say very blunt things to the different royal personages of the Court. Particularly, on a late occasion, the Princess Sophia was requesting he should say something to the King which she thought would gratify him, when he answered, why should he, and besides, what signifies what is said to him. "You know very well, he never would hear, and never will hear, the truth from anybody."

This I suppose is a style of courtliness and flattery out of the beaten track, and which Lord St. Helens¹ has found to answer. He was, it is said, a great favourite as far as company goes with Catherine II, and was one of those who travelled in the carriage with her to Cherson. She used to play at Whist and said to him one day, after the party, "Comment est-ce que je joue au Whist?" He answered drily, "Comme un autre." "Mais," said she, "on m'a dit que je joue très-bien." He replied still more drily, "On vous flatte."

Aug. 24, Friday, 8 p.m., Oxford.—We slept last night at Windsor, breakfasted to-day with the Malmesburys at Park Place, and got to this place to dinner, where I mean to stay all to-morrow that Fred may see the place. He and I are to dine at Dr. Hall's to-morrow, one of the Canons of Christ Church.

Sept. 5, Wednesday, 10 a.m., Clifton, Bristol Hot Wells.—We remained on Saturday at Oxford. In the morning I called on the Dean at Christ Church, and introduced Fred to him, when he told us, to my delight as well as Fred's, that he is one of the boys whom Carey² has mentioned to him with the greatest approbation. Fred and I dined at Dr. Hall's (where we met

¹ He was envoy extraordinary at Petersburg from 1783 to 1787.

² William Carey, headmaster of Westminster in succession to Vincent and afterwards Bishop of Exeter and of St. Asaph.

Dr. and Mrs. Marlow, Ralph Sheldon, now Colonel of the Oxford Volunteers, Mr. Conybeare, who was for about a year an usher at Westminster School on Carey's coming there, and two young men of the College, besides Dr. and Mrs. Hall). Dr. Marlow is President of St. John's, and Vice-Chancellor. Hall is a Canon of Christ Church, and a very learned and very able man, and Mrs. Hall (a sister of Cecilia Byng) a very pretty and agreeable woman.

On Sunday we proceeded to Woodstock to breakfast, and saw in the forenoon Blenheim House and gardens. In the afternoon Milne and Fred drove round the Park in my open chaise. I was too much tired to accompany them. The architecture of Blenheim may be faulty, it may be heavy and cumbrous, but it is on the whole a magnificent and princely pile, and its history must fill every British subject with a just admiration of the great Duke of Marlborough, and the noble reward bestowed on his valour and talents by the Queen and Parliament.

We slept at Woodstock and before breakfast went to see the singular and beautiful collection of China ware which was collected with such perseverance and I should suppose expense, by a Mr. Spalding, and at last, in consequence of some bargain with the Duke, placed in a singularly pretty museum, dedicated entirely to that purpose, at the gate of the Park near the inn, and on the outside of which is the site of Chaucer's house, no part of the house itself being now standing.

After breakfast on Monday, August 26, we proceeded through Blenheim Park, by the Ditchley Gate, to Charlbury, six miles from Woodstock and near to Lord Dillon's seat and park of Ditchley and the Duke of Marlborough's park, now called Blandford, formerly Cornbury Park, the Duke of Marlborough having bought it and the fee-simple grant of the rangership of Whichwood Forest from the Clarendon family about fifty years ago.

At Charlbury we got on horseback and spent five or six hours in surveying that forest, from whence we went to Burford, where we dined and slept, and next day Fred and I dined and

slept at Lord Bathurst's at Cirencester. Here we found besides Lord and Lady Bathurst and their young family (of whom Lord Apsley and the second son had been Fred's schoolfellows at Dr. Moore's at Sunbury), Lady Charlotte Lennox and some of her family, Lady Mark Kerr, a beautiful young woman, daughter and co-heiress of the late Lord Antrim, and sister to Sir Henry Vane Tempest's wife; ¹ also a Mr. and Mrs. Barker, who have a seat near Farringdon.

Next day, Wednesday, 29th August, Lord Bathurst lent us saddle horses and rode with us through his woods, which are as fine as beech woods can be. A great part was planted by his grandfather.² In the house are two original pictures of Pope and Prior, that of Pope by Richardson. In the woods there is a gate which was designed by Pope and over it there was formerly a bust of Pope, but which it seems the Whig mob of Cirencester on the occasion of some contested election destroyed, believing it to be the head of *the* Pope. There is also in the park or woods a house imitating a ruin, in which Pope, Gay and Arbuthnot lodged during a visit of several weeks to old Bathurst, at a time when his principal house was repairing.

There are, at Lord Bathurst's, some good portraits by Kneller and Lely, two large pieces of animals by —— [?], a strong likeness full-length by Dance of Lord Chancellor Bathurst,³ and a beautiful and fine picture of Wilmot, Lord Rochester.

From Cirencester Fred and I went on Wednesday, 29th August, through Gloucester and Newnham to a late dinner at my old fellow circuiter's, Bathurst (Bragge), at Lydney Park. Here we remained till yesterday, Milne having joined us on the Thursday morning the 30th.

I spent Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday in surveying Dean Forest, having dined and slept at my deputy, Mr. Blunt's, at Huntley near Gloucester on Saturday, and having dined on Sunday at Mrs. Edwin's at Clearwell near Coalford, where I

¹ Both Lady Vane Tempest and Lady Mark Kerr became in turn Countesses of Antrim in their own right.

² Allen Bathurst, first Earl Bathurst, who lived from 1684 to 1775, was on very friendly terms with the great writers of the age of Anne.

³ The second Earl.

met the Bathursts and Fred, and returned with them in the evening to Lydney Park. I and Fred spent Monday forenoon in riding with Bathurst about his beautiful and romantic grounds, and having dined and slept there set off yesterday morning at 7 in our open chaise, viz. Fred, Milne and I, having sent the post chaise to cross with the early tide.

We breakfasted at Chepstow, took a hot, fatiguing walk of two hours through the pleasure grounds of Piercefield, had a pleasant passage in a small boat, of less than seven minutes, and reached this place to dinner yesterday at four o'clock.

I mentioned to Bragge what the King had said to me of him. He told me the King himself had told him how much Pitt had been affected on the occasion of his resignation and had said he had not thought Pitt had so much feeling and that he replied that he believed he had a great deal.

Sept. 6, Thursday, 6 p.m., Marlbro'.—We dined and slept at Bath yesterday, and visited all the remarkable places, particularly the Orange Grove, where I first became acquainted, Christmas, 1787, with Lady Glenbervie, then Miss North. Her father and his family were there at that time. He was then blind and his eldest daughter conducted him (accompanied by Lord Sheffield) to call on me in the Orange Grove, where I lodged, in order to return a visit I had paid him.

I had not been at Bath since 1790. Pulteney Street, the new Pump Room, and Sidney Gardens are new since that time. The first is to my taste the most elegant and beautiful street I ever saw, and Sidney Gardens are laid out in a happy mixture of the old and modern or the Italian and English style.

Bragge Bathurst told me that one day when he went into the Closet at St. James's, as Secretary at War, the King asked him who was waiting, and when he told him Lord Berkeley, the King said, "He is come, having demanded an audience, to press that Lady Berkeley may be received at Court. He has done so frequently before, but you know it is impossible." Bragge says that when we two were on the Oxford Circuit, Lady Berkeley was a common prostitute at Worcester, and had often been with several of our fellow circuiters, in the exercise of

that profession, in houses of accommodation for such temporary amours.¹

Sept. 22, Saturday, 2.30 p.m., Half Moon Inn, between Godstone and Croydon.—I went this day week to Eastbourne with Frederick, dined at Mr. Ewen Law's, who with his family are lodged in the eastern part of the Terrace houses (built by and belonging to Mr. Piggott). I called on and saw for a short time Brigadier General Thomas Maitland, who commands a brigade quartered on this part of the coast. After dinner we went with Mrs. Law, in her sociable, to Beachy Head to see the camp, which is commanded by General Lennox. The whole district from Shorncliffe to Chichester is under the command of Sir James Pulteney. It seems strange to many people that the command in this most vulnerable part of the whole coast of Great Britain should be entrusted to the two officers who conducted the expedition against Ferrol.

We stayed at Battle (to which Fred and I returned on Sunday before breakfast) till Monday, when we returned to Sheffield Place to dinner, and yesterday dined and slept at the Speaker's at Kidbrook.

Sept. 23, Sunday, 4 p.m., Eden Farm.—We dined here yesterday, and found all the family (the married daughters excepted) at home, and no company.

Lord Auckland has heard from Lord Liverpool, who heard it from Lord Hawkesbury (lately returned from Weymouth) that the King never means to go back to the Lodge at Windsor. That he said to Lord Hawkesbury that he intends in future to select his own society, that there have been of late cabals in the interior of his family which he is determined to put an end to. It seems he never sees the Queen now but in company.

¹ Her name was Mary Cole, and she was the daughter of a butcher and publican of Wotton near Gloucester. She was married to the fifth Earl of Berkeley in 1796, but on his death in 1810 she claimed that there had been a previous marriage in 1785. The House of Lords, however, held that this had not been proved and that the Earl's elder children were therefore illegitimate and debarred from the succession. As the eldest undoubtedly legitimate son refused to impugn his mother's honour by assuming the title, the earldom became dormant and was not revived until 1891.

He has had an apartment fitted up for himself in the Castle, and adjoining to it one for the Princess Sophia and another for the Princess Amelia, and those for the Queen and other Princesses, all of whom he suspects of caballing against him, in quite a different part of the Castle. He dines alternately with the Princesses Sophia and Amelia without any others of the Royal Family. He is removing all his private library to the Great Lodge in Windsor Great Park, where he means to retire when he wishes to be by himself.

Mr. Ewen Law and Maitland had heard that the King has taken a dislike to all his English attendants, or a suspicion of them, and either has or declared that he intends only to have Hanoverians about his person.

Sept. 25, Tuesday, 12 midday, Pheasantry.—Gibbs and Mrs. Gibbs dined at Eden Farm on Sunday. I had not seen Gibbs before since his appointment to be Chief Justice of Chester. He told us many law anecdotes, among others several instances of Dunning's wit and of Buller's ¹ ignorance.

Buller had made a speech to a Grand Jury in a sort of lofty and as he thought eloquent style, in which he told them that to see and hear the description of the diversified and enormous mischief produced by idleness and debauchery would require more than all the eyes of Argus and *all the ears of Midas*.

Another time, at one of the travelling dinners of the Circuit, somebody said of another who was absent, that he really believed that the sun moves round the earth. "Well," says Buller, "and does it not?" He was, according to Gibbs, not only quite serious in this, but could hardly be made to understand the arguments and proofs which were stated to him to the contrary, nor was he convinced till after Mr. Lens ² had sent him Ferguson's *Astronomy* containing the explanation and proofs of the Copernican system.

An instance of Dunning's pleasantry was played off by him on Kenyon, when both young at the Bar. They then, and ever

¹ Sir Francis Buller, Justice of the Common Pleas from 1794 till his death in 1800.

² John Lens, serjeant-at-law.

after, lived in great intimacy and familiarity, and Kenyon (though the hottest of Welshmen) was a very good-natured man and too well convinced of Dunning's affection and esteem for him to be offended (except at the moment) with his jests. One day Dunning called on him at his chambers, and with a very serious countenance said he had come to consult him, as a most particular and intelligent friend, on a matter of great consequence to himself. Kenyon modestly replied that, with Dunning's superior understanding, no advice or opinion of his could be of much use in directing his judgment; that, however, he would certainly give him the best opinion in his power when he should acquaint him with the subject in question. On this Dunning said that from the little practice he had as yet had, he had got together 100*l.* and that he was desirous to secure this sum by laying it out in land. This Kenyon fully approved of. "Then," says Dunning, "as you, Kenyon, must be well acquainted with the different counties of Wales, and that is the part of the island where I wish to become an owner of land, I beg you will let me know to which of them you give the preference, for, as I am aware that my 100*l.* will suffice to buy any one of them, I am determined to purchase the one you shall recommend."

Lord Auckland, Gibbs and I had a great deal of discourse about Thurlow, Wedderburn and other lawyers and Members of Parliament of an era which may now be considered as past.

Lord Auckland told us that when the conciliatory propositions with America were to be proposed by Lord North to Parliament he was acting as Secretary to the Treasury for Robinson, who was then abroad on account of his health. That by Lord North's desire he carried them to Rigby,¹ who after reading them said he disliked them very much, but added, "Since the measure is determined on, we must do our best to support it." He then went with them as he had been directed to Thurlow (Attorney General). He read them over with one of his sourest countenances, and then said, "Mr. Eden, tell Lord North

¹ Richard Rigby, Paymaster of the Forces; a creature of the fourth Duke of Bedford's and the very type of the corrupt politician. At his death in 1788 he is said to have left "near half a million of public money."

from me that I think this the most wretched and disgraceful of all measures, and that it will lose America and ruin England." "But," says Eden, "you would not have me carry back so harsh a judgment in such unqualified terms to the Minister, after he and the Cabinet have determined on the business." "Yes, but I would; I desire you will tell him from me exactly what I have said." Soon after this Lord North stated his propositions to the House, and was seconded in an eloquent and able speech by the late Sir Gilbert Elliot. Fox answered him, after which a pause ensued and the Treasury Bench were in terror lest the Attorney General, who had shown that he was about to speak, should in any degree express the same sentiments he had privately declared in so adverse a manner. But they were soon relieved, for he began his speech by declaring that in his opinion *that* man must have the weakest of heads, or the wickedest of hearts, who did not approve of a measure so wise, so just and so necessary.

Gibbs made a very just observation on Kenyon's character. He said that though so penurious, and so shabby in the expenditure of money, he had never been guilty or accused of any mean or shabby act to acquire it.

Sept. 28, Friday, Pheasantry.—Wednesday, 26th, was the anniversary of my marriage with one whom after fifteen years acquaintance with her I think is the most worthy, the most wise and the wittiest woman I have ever known. On that day there dined with us her witty great-uncle, Mr. George James Williams, but generally known by the name of Gilly Williams, Colonel Thomas, Mrs. Damer, Miss Berry and Misses Catherine and Elizabeth Chester.

Williams and Thomas were full of anecdotes of the Duke of Queensberry. Williams heard him the other day at his house at Richmond after drinking a glass of some champagne, say, "This is the best champagne in England, God d—n me, and he who says it is not, by G—d he lies," and Thomas says that lately, after ringing his bell, the servant came into the room, stood some time without the Duke's speaking or looking at him, and then asked if his Grace wanted anything, who upon

that said to him, "God d—n you, am I obliged to tell you what I want?"

A week or two ago the Dowager Lady Essex, who lives in this neighbourhood and is an old acquaintance of his, wrote a note to him to say she would come and dine with him some day. He, however, declined receiving her, in a civil answer, excusing himself on account of ill-health; but he said to Thomas, "By God, she shan't dine with me, nor any woman I can't kick out as soon as I am tired of her." I have heard of no ladies who have dined with him this summer, but Mme. Vaudreuil, Mrs. Horsley and the Grassini.

The Duke of Queensberry's habit of swearing appears very extraordinary, for in all other respects he is a perfectly well-bred man. He has lived all his life in the first company, and certainly is not deficient in words, nor indeed in parts and understanding.

Nov. 5, Monday, Office of Woods.—Lady Margaret Fordyce told us this morning a remarkable instance of presence of mind and quickness in her sister Lady Hardwicke. She says it was a plan with Lord and Lady Clare and many others in Ireland, after the Union, when Lord Hardwicke went there as Lord Lieutenant, to lower the dignity of that office. Lady Port Arlington it seems joined in this. She was an old acquaintance of Lady Hardwicke's, and having called upon her one morning soon after her arrival in Dublin, she said to her, "It is quite astonishing what absurd stories sometimes are told about and gain credit; for instance to-day I heard it said that the King had ordered that everybody should call you *Excellency*." "That is very absurd indeed," said Lady Hardwicke, "for we all know the King is too wise to think of ever ordering people in a free country to do anything but what they like. But it is very true he has ordered me to call myself *Excellency*, and you may be sure I mean to obey him."

Dec. 12, Wednesday, 11 a.m., Pheasantry.—On Sunday last we dined at Blackheath, where the party was Mr. Windham (Mrs. Windham had been invited, but had pleaded—not her belly—her health), General Edmund Phipps, General MacLeod of the Artillery (the husband of Lady Emily Kerr,

Lord Lothian's sister), Lady Charlotte Lindsay (John Lindsay had excused himself), Lady Glenbervie and myself and Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald.

The dinner was better and better served than at any former time I remember and there was a fuller and more princely attendance of servants. The goodness of some of the dishes having been observed, the Princess told us her cook had been Mr. Pitt's, and that on his discharging him in 1801 she had engaged him. That when the King dined with her in the summer of that year and took notice of the cooking she had said to him, "Sir, I am the only person who have gained by the change of the Ministry. I have gained a good cook by it."

The Princess was particularly and equally courteous to all her guests. This also was new, and she was particularly lively and agreeable except that she pressed Windham a little too hard about Opposition and Cobbett.

The King had dined at Blackheath on the Thursday before (6th December) and Lady Sheffield had been desired by the Princess to be there when he arrived. The dinner was at two, but the King arrived at twelve and was closeted the two hours with the Princess. He made Lady Sheffield sit down to dinner. They were only three and the King was in very pleasant spirits and very narrative. He told them many stories of his own family. He said George I was extremely unwilling to come to England and wished to have only sent his son. But it was represented to him that if he did not come he would run the risk of losing the crown of the three kingdoms and he at last declared he would sacrifice himself for his family.

That his mother was a very sensible woman and entirely governed his father at the end of his life. His father disliked Kew, but she liked it and prevailed with him to live there.

That his own great friend was the Duchess of Brunswick. That his aunt the Princess Amelia was "a great boar."¹ That she left off coming to his Court when she was sixty, and that he proposed to visit her in private when he knew of this resolution, but she sent him word that they had been so long

¹ *Sic.* Whether his Majesty meant "bore" or "boor" is uncertain.

of meeting in private she thought he had better not take that trouble.

He spoke, as he so often does, with the utmost affection of Lord North, said he had never disagreed with him but about the Coalition (this cannot be taken literally) and that even there he believed he meant well. He said he had got some Treasury boxes with Lord North's name on them which he had always preserved with great care. The Princess told us that the King takes frequent opportunities of speaking of Lord North.

He also said he had a great regard for all the family and really believed that they all loved him. That Frederick had sent him a cane from Ceylon with a head set with the precious stones of the island, which he had always kept for the sake of the donor. He spoke with great feeling of the Bishop's attentions on the late visit to Farnham.

He regretted that the present Lord Guilford lived so much with Kemble, Jack Bannister¹ and such people. He was not surprised to see persons of condition who could not bear their part in good company resort to that of sycophants and of their inferiors, but that Frank North's wit would make him acceptable in the best company.

He said he intended to fit up Windsor like a palace, and to live from henceforward like a king.

Lady Sheffield was naturally much pleased and affected by that part of the conversation which concerned her family.

His Majesty drank no wine of any sort, only lemonade. He ate heartily and drank a dish of coffee after dinner.

The only singularity Lady Sheffield particularly remarked was that the King held the conversation above mentioned during dinner before the servants.

We went the day before yesterday to M. de Stahremberg's² at Twickenham to see the French pieces of *Julie, ou l'Épreuve Heureuse* and *Les Folies Amoureuses*, acted by him, Mme. de Stahremberg, their two sons and two daughters and Baron

¹ John Bannister, famous in the comic characters of Shakespeare, Congreve, Sheridan and Goldsmith.

² The Austrian Ambassador.

Ragersfeld. The pieces were both good, especially the last, which I think I had often seen at Paris (it is by Regnard) and they were tolerably well acted, especially by Count Stahremberg.

To-night Lady Glenbervie, Mrs. Damer and Miss Berry go to see the *Adelphi* performed by the Westminster Collegers. They are all three Latinists, but Lady Glenbervie is undoubtedly much the best.

Dec. 17, Monday, 1 p.m., Pheasantry.—Those ladies were delighted with the play and the acting, which was indeed excellent and I am persuaded much better than Betty's, the Young Roscius, who was there as a spectator and, though he it seems knows no Latin, was very attentive. His father, the son of a creditable physician of Lisburne in Ireland, but himself a sort of speculator or gambler in the linen trade, canals, etc., married the daughter of a respectable English clergyman, and his wife is said to have the expectation of inheriting an estate of about 700*l. per annum*. The boy is fair and ruddy, a round face, pretty hair, and a sensible, thoughtful countenance. He is about thirteen and only five [*sic*] foot nine, rather square built but has a sort of pulmonic air or complexion. He sat very near me, but I have not yet seen him act.

Barnes came to us here on Saturday and stayed till after breakfast to-day. Lord Liverpool is remarkably well, but full of anxiety about his sons, and, of course, about politics, foreign and domestic. Barnes, in confidence, told me many circumstances he has learned from him and from his almost daily correspondence with Lord Hawkesbury, which he has read, as well as many other curious papers and documents concerning the late changes, *i.e.* those in 1801 and last summer.

In 1801 Lord Hawkesbury had been selected as the fittest person Addington could find to appoint to the Foreign Department, but he soon disgusted Woronzow¹ and afterwards, also, Stahremberg. It is difficult to say whether he was essentially to blame in the first of those instances but he certainly might have avoided the handle which Woronzow seized for a mis-

¹ The Russian Ambassador.

understanding. He remonstrated against any direct correspondence even on commercial matters with the Russian Consul, and insisted either by a letter or message that he could only transact such matters by the intervention of the accredited representative of the Emperor. To this Woronzow replied by a letter conceived in very angry and disrespectful terms; said he was not to be taught his business by such a boy,¹ and that nothing but his respect for Lord Liverpool, whom he had long known, and the recollection of a kind feeling for the infant Secretary, when he used to see him, a very few years before, playing as a child at Addiscombe and in London, prevented him from making a serious affair of the matter. Lord Hawkesbury found or was advised that it was expedient to palliate and endeavour to do away the supposed affront, but either did it so awkwardly and ill, or at least not in a manner to satisfy the Russian, who continued his morgue and ill-humour towards him to the termination of the other's Foreign Secretaryship. These circumstances I have heard both from Fawkener and lately from Lord Pelham, who both heard them from Woronzow himself. What follows I was told by Barnes.

Last summer Lord Hawkesbury, to accommodate in the new arrangement, agreed to go to the Home Office, and had actually begun to transact the business of that office when Canning made the speech Cobbett has commented so much upon, and in which he stated that his chief objections to Addington's Administration had been the wretched conduct of the Treasury and of Foreign Affairs; that now those departments had been changed, and he had taken office (*viz.* Treasurer of the Navy). This speech being reported to Lord Hawkesbury he was so angry that he sent in his resignation to Pitt the next day, after consultation with his friends, particularly Lord Bristol²—(by the bye, Woronzow disliked and complained of and abused Lord Bristol more even than Lord Hawkesbury)—and having communicated this step to his father, he approved of it. Pitt was uneasy at this, and various messages and intermediations took place,

¹ Hawkesbury was at least thirty at this date.

² Hawkesbury's brother-in-law.

chiefly I think through Lord Castlereagh who declared, explicitly, that he would resign also if Lord Hawkesbury went out. Lord Hawkesbury, however, stood firm. At last, Canning came in person to the Home Office and desired to see Lord Hawkesbury. He was told he could not, but he said he had particular business with him and must see him. Still he was told he could not, that Lord Hawkesbury was particularly occupied, etc. He persisted, and finally opened the door and actually went into Lord Hawkesbury's room, and began to talk to him on what had passed and to apologise. Lord Hawkesbury said it was unnecessary and unavailing for them to talk together, since he had on deliberation and consultation with friends taken this resolution and had actually resigned. Canning left him, but Pitt himself then found it convenient to make, I believe, in writing an express declaration that the only reason why he had desired Lord Hawkesbury to take the Home for the Foreign Department was because he had nobody to place there whom he thought so fit for it, and that when any fit occasion should offer (which, however, he did not see an immediate prospect of) he would state this publicly in the House of Commons. This satisfied Lord Hawkesbury and he consented to stay, but only on condition that Canning should not again resign, which he had declared he would do. But he too was, it seems, reconciled for the present to the poor subaltern office of Treasurer of the Navy. Lord Hawkesbury's mouth has, on the present occasion, been watering for his former place, but Pitt has either forgot or never thought that a temporary reason, viz. that Lord Harrowby would be a good Foreign but a bad Home Secretary, was the *ratio suasoria* for sending Lord Hawkesbury from foreign politics to mere domestic police and the formal part of Irish and Scottish correspondence, for he has desired Lord Camden not Lord Hawkesbury should conduct the foreign correspondence till Lord Harrowby shall recover (which so as to do business is thought desperate) or till he can fix on his successor.

To finish this character of Lord Hawkesbury for the present, Barnes agrees with me that he is diligent, good-tempered and

steady, but of most awkward manners, and, like his father, a bald and inaccurate writer.

Barnes has seen and read the copy, in the King's own hand, of his letter written last summer in answer to Lord Auckland's. The King (as I think Lord Liverpool told me and I have mentioned above) sent it almost immediately to Lord Liverpool. It began by saying he wondered Lord Auckland should think he had any claims on his favour, that he had been ready on every trying crisis to forsake him (and I think enumerated particular occasions), and that particularly he had been the cause of a misunderstanding between him and the ablest Minister and worthiest man who had ever conducted the affairs of this country, Lord North, by persuading him to the Coalition, a circumstance which had justly offended him with that affectionate friend and servant, whom he really believed the sense of his displeasure had affected so deeply as to contribute to his premature decay and death, without the satisfaction of a reconciliation between them. That he knew him (Lord Auckland) to have been the prime mover in that transaction, etc. The above, though not certainly the words, is the material and substantial part of what Barnes told me of this letter.

He has seen the late correspondence, and that which took place some months ago, on the subject of the reconciliation between the King and Prince and education, etc., of the Princess Charlotte. It seems that on the day before the interview was to have taken place between the King and his son, just before the last journey to Weymouth, the Chancellor received a letter from the Prince in which he said that he should not go to meet the King, for that he found from what his mother had told him that the King still talked of him in such injurious terms that it was impossible that the proposed meeting and reconciliation could lead to good. This letter being communicated to the Ministers, it was settled that the Chancellor should represent to the Queen the great imprudence this was, when an event of such importance to the public had so nearly been brought about, in telling either of the parties what might have been said by the other of a nature to revive the feelings which it was hoped

had been forgotten, and the Chancellor is said to have spoken to her with great vehemence and so roundly that she was very much affected. The meeting, however, did not take place till after the return from Weymouth, and it does not now seem to have done any good, perhaps the contrary.

The question of an establishment for the young Princess has become a terrible bone of contention. The Prince in a letter to the King, delivered I believe by Lord Moira, had expressed his anxiety that this establishment should not be longer deferred. It is said the King understands him to have meant that this matter should be entirely arranged by his Majesty and he had been taking measures and pitching on persons accordingly. Some say that the Prince admits the above to have been his meaning, but declares that this happened before he had seen the King, but that since, from the disordered state of his mind, he had found it his duty to alter his intention. Others say he denies ever having had or signified the intention and that Lord Moira has been again sent for to testify what really passed. The King has sent, by the Chancellor, what he calls a skeleton of an establishment to the Prince, but without the names, while the Prince says, or imagines, that the Princess of Wales has been consulted and apprised of the persons. He has written two letters to the Chancellor on this subject and containing those complaints. The Chancellor when he received them consulted with Lord Hawkesbury, and I believe afterwards with the other Ministers, when it was resolved that, though a very delicate consideration, as the Prince's letters were very warm, they must be shown to the King. The Prince claims the right as father, notwithstanding the case in Hargrave's 11th Volume of *State Trials*. When the King was shown the letters, I believe by Lord Hawkesbury and the Chancellor, the King was less agitated than they expected, and said firmly, he was determined to go through with the business, and Lord Hawkesbury has written to his father that his Ministers are resolved to do so. They build on the case and precedent just mentioned.

Lady Townshend is talked of for governess, and Fisher, the new Bishop of Exeter, for preceptor.

I hear the Prince says he is of the Queen's party.

Dec. 23, Sunday, 1 p.m., Pheasantry.—On Friday I met Erskine in Pall Mall, near Carlton House. We stopped and he desired to talk over some of the prevailing topics, especially concerning himself. He said he knew the King to be still insane; that he has been counsel in all the great questions of sanity which have been tried for the last twenty years, at the sittings, on his circuit, and as special counsel in all parts of the kingdom, and has bound up all his notes on this subject into one large book, with indexes and references. That he therefore knows more of the distemper than all the King's physicians put together. That the King certainly recovered completely in 1788, and he therefore thought that the disease was not mania. That he then retained no morbid ideas, but that now his mind continues to dwell on such ideas, capricious resentments, hatreds and fancies for and against persons and former habits, against the Queen for instance, Buckingham House, etc., and against Dr. Simmons and Dr. Willis, which is a circumstance which did not exist on his recovery in 1789. That he knows the King said last Friday he should in the spring invade Hanover in person, at the head of the Blues and the Staffordshire Militia.

He said the business of Miss Seymour would he hoped be compromised but that the serious question was the custody of the Princess Charlotte. I said I had read the case in Fortescue and Hargrave, but did not know whether the opinion in that case was acted upon. He said it was not. (But query that fact.) Now, however, the circumstances he said were different. Suppose the King on the principle of that case, viz. that he is in the eye of the law as the father of his grand-daughter, were to be advised to insist on having the child delivered to him either by Habeas Corpus or otherwise, it would be to be considered whether the Prince ought or could be compelled to give her up to a King whose state of mind is such that if he were a common tradesman or private individual a Commission of Lunacy would certainly take out of his hands the management of his own affairs and the custody and education of his children. I said

such an occurrence would bring the point of the King's present state to an issue.

He said he believed the King would live these twenty years.

He went into Carlton House. The Prince had come the day before (I think) from Brighton and Lord Moira was arrived from Edinburgh.

Dec. 31, Monday, 1 p.m., Pheasantry.—We dined at the new Lord Buckinghamshire's (Lord Hobart's) on Sunday last. He came late home and told us he had been at Lord Hawkesbury's at Combe Park, where Pitt and Addington had just then met and been reconciled. Lord Hawkesbury seemed pleased, and so I conclude he is to make part of the arrangement, perhaps to succeed Lord Hardwicke. I gathered from him that Lord Melville was and that Canning was not a party to the business. He talked of the number of votes Addington would bring, and how much more popular this junction would be than one of Pitt with Fox. He at the same time owned he believed it was less expected.¹

The *Morning Chronicle* and Cobbett have opened new and stronger batteries. There is in the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day a very tolerable ballad on the subject to the tune of the *Warwickshire Lads*.

Lady Glenbervie gave a little dance last Thursday. Among the company were the Duke of Clarence and his eldest son by Mrs. Jordan, Master Fitz Clarence,² a fine boy of eleven, with a promising and even distinguished countenance. The next evening the Prince brought four, viz. this and another boy and two little girls, to Mrs. Riddell's. His care of these children and marked affection for them is certainly very amiable. *Si sic omnia.*

He told Adam and me many circumstances about his father,

¹ Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, came into the Cabinet as Lord President in January, 1805, when Lord Mulgrave succeeded Lord Harrowby as Foreign Secretary.

² Lord George Augustus Frederick Fitzclarence, who fought in the Peninsular and Mahratta wars and eventually attained the rank of major-general, was created Earl of Munster in 1831 and died by his own hand in 1842.

and anecdotes which if correct are curious. Among other things, that some years ago, when he was in the habit of seeing and conversing familiarly with the King, he ventured to ask him if there was any foundation for the reports that Lord Bute continued long to have private intercourse with his Majesty and that the King said certainly not, that this intercourse was said to have been carried on by Lord Liverpool (then Jenkinson), which could never have been, as Jenkinson had always disapproved and remonstrated against Lord Bute's measures and had thereby incurred Lord Bute's displeasure. That in truth he had had no intercourse with Lord Bute since he went out of office, nor had ever seen him except by chance in 1765, when on walking from the Lodge at Richmond he had gone into the Chinese House in Kew Gardens and found there by accident Lord Bute, with his mother the Princess Dowager. That on his entering Lord Bute rose and coming towards him said something of private friendship and intercourse, but that the King declared to him (with expressions of regard) that as he could no longer see him openly he could not have any private communication with him either personally or by letter.

In what the Duke of Clarence said that evening of his father he dropped nothing disrespectful nor anything respecting or even hinting at his present state.

He talked about the reason of Pitt's resignation. Adam said the Catholic question was the assigned cause. I said Sheridan had told Pitt on his legs in the House of Commons that no human being believed that to be the real cause and that Pitt sat silent on that occasion. The Duke said he thought he had reason to believe that the King had been long out of humour with Pitt, and that this arose from his having learned that in the course of the war Pitt had offered Hanover to the King of Prussia if he would join us against France. That the proposition had been secretly made, but the Hanoverian Minister at Berlin had got scent of it.

I observed that that was a very serious plan indeed, and that for my own part, as an humble individual, I had always thought that the King of England ought never to accede to

such a cession, whatever State necessity might dictate to a Minister. I remarked that when I made this declaration both the Duke and Adam (who is much in the interest and I suppose a good deal in the confidence of Fox) were silent and avoided every sign of either assent or dissent to my proposition.

In the conversation I have just mentioned, the Duke's manner was throughout frank yet dignified, and even interesting and entertaining, as Adam and I agreed after it was over.

In 1805 Glenbervie only made three entries in his diary, two in January and one in July, none of them of much interest. In 1806 he wrote nothing, and did not resume until December 15, 1807.

[illegible]

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